

#### Dreams. Realities.

After an evening of tantrums that shook the walls, Kate has finally begun to dream. "">But down the hall, her father wonders how he'll afford to send her to college, while her mother considers a larger home.">Downtown, Kate's overworked pediatrician ponders an early retirement. ">Downtown, Wate's overworked pediatrician ponders an early retirement. ">Downtown, Kate's overworked pediatrician ponders an early retirement. ">Downtown, Kate's overworked pediatrician ponders an early retirement. ">Downtown, Kate's overworked pediatrician ponders at the baby food bottling plant. ">Downtown, Canada and Salaga and Sal

Every minute, Kate's world is being enhanced by those near and far. And every minute, Citi is helping. We're providing the college savings plan and the mortgage that'il give her family room to grow. We're enabling her doctor to plan for the future, helping the pea farmer and the food processor to reach new markets, and funding the Australian studio. It's an enormous undertaking. And an even bigger responsibility. Which is why, while Kate might sleep, we never do. Citicom/Neversleeps

Citi never sleeps





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Edward Jones
MAKING SENSE OF INVESTING

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Wisdom (Abrams), available October 2008. Insets,

from left: Andrew Kaufman for TIME; Warner Bros.

On the cover: Photograph by Andrew Zuckerman, from

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A Texas tycoon bets the

To Our Readers

### A Leader for the Ages.

Through his example and his good works, Nelson Mandela remains an inspiration for young and old around the world

THE YEAR AND A HALF I STENT IN SOUTH Africa working with Nelson Mandela on his autobiography—seeing him most every day—were extraordinarily thrilling and rewarding. (And add to that the fact that I met my wife there too.) When the project was over. I missed him terribly and stayed in touch as much as I could. With his 90th birthday approaching, I wanted to make sure that my two boys—each of whom boasts a Mandela-related middle name—saw the great man one more time. He was sunny and happy that morning, and spent most of the time entertaining my sons.

In addition to the worldwide celebration of his 90th birthday, I wanted Time to mark it in a significant way. To me, Mandela's model of leadership is 90 profound and historic that I decide to focus on explaining what the world can learn from it. I wen thack to South Africa last month to talk to two of the men who know Mandela best: Cyril Ramaphosa and Ahmed Kathrada. Ramaphosa is one of the great leaders of modern South Africa (and a favorite of Mandela's) and



NELSON MANDELA FOUNDATION

Partners Stengel, with sons Gabriel, far left, and Anton, visits Mandela in Johannesburg in March. Stengel collaborated with Mandela on his 1994 autobiography, Long Walk to Freedom









Covers past Mandela first graced the TIME cover in February 1990, top left, and shared 1993 Men of the Year honors

was the powerful head of the National Union of Mineworkers when Mandela was released. Kathrada is both a lifelong freedom fighter and friend of Mandela's who spent those long and lonely years in prison by Mandela's side. Their insight into his leadership skills and style is invaluable.

Mandela retired from politics in 1999. But he has remained active, continuing his work through the Nelson Mandela Foundation (ably run by Achmat Dangor). After his retirement, Mandela publicly expressed his regret at not have ling acted sooner on HIV/AIDS. The foundation set up an AIDS program and helped launch 4666, fammed after Mandela's prison number), a global HIV/AIDS awareness campaign. The current focus of the foundation is its Centre of Memory and Dialogue, which is producine an inter-

active archive of Mandela's life and times, with the goal of applying his lessons to critical social issues. In 2003 Mandela founded the Mandela-Rhodes Foundation, which is centered on a remarkable scholarship program for African student but is aimed even more broadly at promoting leadership in Africa. If our story inspires you to find out more about Mandela's life or to get involved in his work, visit uwu.ncbommandela.or.

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR

# In the middle of this whole oil mess, ethanol is a bright spot.

America is spending more than \$1 billion a day on imported oil—wreaking havoc on the economy and driving up the price of everything from gasoline to groceries. On the other hand, ethanol is saving Americans 15% or more at the pump.\* At \$4 per gallon, that's a \$12 savings on 20 gallons—every time you fill up.

Ethanol adds billions of gallons of cleaner burning, renewable fuel to our nation's total fuel supply—putting downward pressure on prices. Reducing our dangerous and expensive addiction to imported oil. Keeping billions of dollars right here in America.

Ethanol is an important component in our nation's long-term energy strategy. It's working for us today—and will contribute even more tomorrow.



fueling America's future-

'Read the research and discover more about the benefits of inhand for our economy. our environment and our nation's energy security at DrivingEthanol.org

Guide to Style mentors young designers in a new season of Project Runway, debuting July 16.

#### Tim Gunn will now take your questions



Next Questions
Ask planist Lang Lang your questions for an upcoming interview

Watch the Video

Watch the Tim Gunn interview and subscribe to the 10 Questions podcast on iTunes at time.com/10questions

With which designer, dead or alive, would you like to spend a lunch dishing fashion ideas?

Milo Keilo, MILILANI, HAWAII Oh, the first really seminal designer of the 2oth century: Coco Chanel. That would be some lunch. If it were a living designer, there's no one more fabulous to have lunch with than Diane von Furstenberg.

Michelle Obama or Cindy McCain?

Sharlin Aldao
MIAMI LAKES, FLA.
Michelle Obama. Absolutely.
She looks so comfortable and
relaxed in her style, in her
fashion, and she exudes that.
She has a presence that gives
you confidence in her.

#### What's the worst fashion trend you've ever seen?

Kay Soriano, MANILA
Well, sandals with socks are
certainly up there. Generally
speaking, it's footwear trends.
I mean, the Croc—it looks like
a plastic hoof. How can you
take that seriously? I know
it's comfortable; I understand
that. But if you want to dress
to feel as though you never got
out of bed, don't get out of bed.

# How can I look as stylish as you on what is probably a lower budget?

Tim Edwards, TULSA, OKLA. The key to getting your fashion right is the same for men and women. First of all, know who you are and how you want the world to perceive you. Understand what colors, what patterns look good on you and the whole interaction of silhouette, proportion and

fit. If you can get that right, you'll look great in anything.

# What would be the most important pieces to invest in now that won't go out of style?

Jen Meckles, COLUMBIA, MO. A classic blazer or jacket would be a wonderful purchase. I have my 10-essentials list for getting your wardrobe right. It's the blazer, the classic white shirt, a skirt, a day dress, a basic black dress, black pants, jeans, a sweater

of some kind and a trench coat—you can wear it to the grocery store or the opera. The last one is a sweat-suit alternative—something that you feel good in and look good in and that you can go out and walk the dog in.

#### Is there anyone whose fashion choices you always love?

Sherry Grace
ROCHESTER HILLS, MICH.
Angelina Jolie. She knows
what's occasion-appropriate.

She knows what she looks good in. She's sexy without ever being remotely vulgar. I think she has a fabulous sense of style and a fabulous sense of who she is.

#### What is your favorite decade of fashion?

Kim Hô, DRNYER
The '60s. I don't think we've
ever seen in any decade as
much of a transition in how
people dress. From the Kennedy years—very polished,
very sophisticated—we go
to Woodstock and hippiedom and Carnaby Street and
Twiggy and the mini. Quite
a lot of drama happened.

#### What factors help determine tomorrow's fashions?

Tom St. Germain, DETROIT.
I'm frequently asked where
fashion is going, and my response is, if thewe or if the
industry knew, we'd already
be there. There are so many
things that can trigger a trend.
It may be something from
the street—witness hip-hop.
It may be something from a
fashion show.

#### What movie or TV cast has had the biggest impact on fashion?

Amy Deschenes, BOSTON Sex and the City. Absolutely, hands down. Thank you, Sarah Jessica Parker.

#### What is your favorite thing to wear?

Marianne Ross
AUSTIN, TEXAS
There is no better feeling for
me than to go to a black-tie
event in a classic tuxedo. Every man looks great in a tux.





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years after it burned to the ground, the author's house is again threatened by California's wildfires.

# Global Dispatch For a new postcard from around the world every day, visit time.com

Living at the mercy of the winds

ou LEARN TO KEEF YOUR DIARIES and photographs in a safe-deposit box in the bank. You never burn candles or let the washing machine run when you're away from the house. For five months of every year you instinctively look to the hills as soon as the temperature rises or the wind picks up. If you're living where people were never supposed to live—as many of us in the hills of California are doing—you learn hat you are living on borrowed time.

BY PICO IYER

I flew back to Santa Barbara a week ago, and as I drove home from the airport. I looked up to the foothills where we live and saw two small rivulets of orange surging through the darkness. My heart stopped. Eighteen years before, almost to the day, a forest fire had broken out very close to our home. For three hours I had been caught in the middle of 70-ft. (21 m) flames, whipped on by 70-m.p.h. (110 km/h) "sundowner" winds. This time, I pushed down the pedal and raced around the curves of our narrow, hillframed mountain road to tell my mother and sweetheart that our most loyal, if unreliable, annual visitor was on its way.

By now, 1,500 fires were burning up and down the state, from Big Sur down to San Bernardino. Slashes of orange began to tear up the hills two or three miles from our house, and the sky turned bloodred, then black. For 24 hours we remained in a state of limbo, leaving the house as a precaution and then returning when it appeared the fire had subsided. I went down to the local post office in late afternoon, and as I came out, the whole residential suburb next to the sea was all but buried under a mud-brown haze. Up in the hills, orange gashes were appearing everywhere.

I started driving home and turned on the radio to hear that we, and a few neighbors, had been given an "evacuation warning." As I began the ascent up our road, the warning turned to an order. I



Snock and awe As smoke plankets the nortzon, onlookers watch whaftres burn near Santa Barbara

careened around the curves, with plumes of orange seeming to rise in every valley around our house. "We have to leave now!" I shouted to my wife and mother as fires cut across the dry brush with a speed and efficiency! remembered from before. The air was so clouded with smoke, we could hardly breathe. Driving up our troad was like driving into an oven.

Brakes screaming, we swerved and skidded at crazy speeds down the

mountain as the flames rose behind us, and within 10 minutes or
so we were in downtown Santa
Barbara in the middle of a quiet,
blue-sky midsummer day. Firefighters and planes started arriving from every corner of California.
Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger

announced a "state of emergency," which meant that resources would soon arrive from around the country.

Then came the wait. Ash was falling over the city like snow. Hillsides disappeared permanently behind a gray-black haze. Sometimes the wind receded, and our home came into view. Then the sun grew more intense, and we could imagine the heroic firefighters surrounded by

flames that were barely 10% contained.
They tell you how to prepare for fires,
but you can prepare no more for them
than for a sudden death. Eighten years
ago, I had been sitting in my house when
I saw a waterfall of orange a few hillsides
away. I tried to call the fire department,
but the phone went dead. I tried to turn
the lights on, but the electricity was gone.
Within 10 minutes the flames had so encircled my home with smoke that I could

not be seen by helicopters above. In that conflagration, which wiped out our house and more than 500 others-at the time the worst fire in California history-I sat in a car on our mountain road, watching the fire pick apart my bedroom, our living room, all our past and present and (for me, a writer, who had his next eight years or so in notes) my future. Now it was all happening again. The phones were dead. Electricity was out across the city. Reports came that the fire had receded a little but still was most intense and threatening right next to my house. All I could do was sit in the town below-the traffic lights around me blanked out-and listen to the blades of the helicopters above, watching for the turning of the wind.

# Stereotype resistant.

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The all-new Infiniti FX.





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# Inbox



#### **Defining Patriotism**

RICHARD STROKEL'S "THE NEW PATRIOtism" was helpful in understanding the theme of this presidential election [July 7]. Upholding American ideals makes us beter, but candidates tend to look for hot buttons to create fear. We need a definition of patriotism that recognises our nation's proud heritage but sees how much better we can be

Steven A. Ludsin, EAST HAMPTON, N.Y.

NOWHERE IN PETER BEINART'S ARTICLE did I see mention of the word nationalism, which is what much of farright patriotism really is. It is not healthy to say. "I love my country, right or wrong." I love my country too—and I am not ashamed to acknowledge its mistakes as well as its accomplishments.

Mark Fagerburg, RICHMOND, VA.

THE ISSUES NOT HOW PATRIOTISM SHOULD be expressed but whether it is a positive force in the world. I don't think it is. Patriotism is what kept the media from questipe the media from the world. I don't think it is patriotism is what kept the media from questipe the media from the world in t

political moderates have felt

for a long time; that it is quite

possible to love your country

and still want it to be better."

Carroll A. Fossett Ir., READING, PA.

tioning plans for invading Iraq before the war started. Fear of being labeled unpatriotic is what kept more legislators from voting against authorizing its invasion. The U.S. has a long history of not living up to its ideals because more importance is placed on shallow expressions of honor and love of country than on making sure all people are treated equitably. Mary Bruwton, DENYER

...., -----,

#### Understanding Fragile X

CLAUDIA WALLIS' ARTICLE "THE FRACILE X FACTO" FOOVIGE as compelling view of a simple single-gene disorder that has turned out to be far more complicated than anyone imagined [July 7]. Biologically, the gene has ripple effects throughout the brain. For families, it has ripple effects across generations. Many doctors, teachers and therapists know too little about it to provide appropriate care. Thank you for helping raise public awareness.

Don Bailey, President of the Board of Directors, National Fragile X Foundation

#### SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

■ The July 7 Back & Forth incorrectly stated that President George H.W. Bush signed an Executive Order banning offshore oil drilling nearly 30 years ago. It was in 1990.

THANK YOU FOR PRINTING SUCH AN INFORmative and optimistic article about fragile X syndrome. My 10-year-old son has fragile X with autism and ADHD. I look forward to when we can shout from the mountaintops that we have a treatment. [emiljer Nardo, HOCKESSIN, PEL.]

#### Parsing the "Pregnancy Pact"

responsibility cannot be labeled surprising in a society that still castigates women and girls for their sexual behavior [July 7]. Yet she too eagerly embraces the archaic idea that the only proper way to "take responsibility for the consequences" of heterosexual sex is to carry an unplanned pregnancy to term. In the life of a pregnant high school girl, "taking responsibility" may mean walking through the school hallways heavy into her ninth month, casemanaging her abortion or giving up a child for adoption without ever seeing him. We can have compassion for young women in these situations without passing judgment on their lives and their futures.

Erin Kate Ryan, Board of Directors, Eastern Massachusetts Abortion Fund BOSTON

THERE ARE THREE WAYS THAT WOMEN and teenagers can take responsibility for a pregnancy: abortion, adoption or parenting. One option is not more responsible than the others. Each is a valid choice, as long as the chosen path is the best for the individual pregnant woman. And that is her decision to make.

Kelli Conlin, President, National Institute for Reproductive Health, NEW YORK CITY





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# Briefing THE WORLD | VERBATIM | THE PAGE | DISTORY

POP CHART I MILESTONES



#### Too Little, Too Late. A pledge to cut carbon emissions is less than it seems

AT THE G-8 SUMMIT IN THE Japanese resort town of Toya-ko, President George W. Bush proudly presented a pledge by the group's eight member nations to cut global greenhouse gas emissions at least 50% by 2050. For a President who came into office publicly doubling climate change and has repeatedly refused to set specific limits on carbon emissions, the G-8 statement was a personal step forward.

Unfortunately for the rest of us, this year's G-8 summit which marked the first time

that leaders of the world's 16 biggest carbon emitters have sat down to talk about climate change-will be remembered as a lost opportunity. First of all, the 2050 pledge doesn't specify a baseline year. European leaders want to bring emissions down to 50% of 1990 levels, but host nation Japan seemed to indicate that it would be happy to use present-day levels. The difference in actual reductions would be enormous So what appears to be a firm numerical target is just more

hot aspirations—not too different from the original U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change, which aimed to stabilize carbon emissions at a level that would prevent "dangerous human interference" with the environment.

#### What appears to be a firm numerical target is just more hot aspirations

That was signed in 1992—by another President Bush.

But the real loss in Toyako was the chance to fully enlist big developing nations like China and India in the fight against climate change. In the weeks leading up to the sumthat they would be amenable to broad, long term emissions reductions—provided that rich nations agreed to their own short term cuts. The U.S. (along with Canada and Australia) nixed the idea, and so the developing nations conspicuously did not agree to the G-8's zogo target.

mit, these countries indicated

By next year's summit, the U.S. will have a new and more environmental President, and the ground is set for substantial negotiations. But we won't get back eight lost years of White House indifference and interference on climate. It's too late for Bush to reverse that now. We can only hope it's not too late for the rest of us.—By MRAN, WALSH

# **The World**





Betancourt, center, reunites with her daughter and son after six years in captivity

#### 1 Colombia

#### **Worry for Those Left Behind**

A week after the daring July 2 operation that freed former presidential candidate Ingrid Betancourt and 14 others, some have expressed concern that the highprofile rescue did nothing to aid the nearly 700 others still held by Colombia's FARC rebels; one captive's mother referred to Betancourt as a "trophy hostage." Former Cuban leader Fidel Castro, whose revolution inspired the group's creation in the 1960s, called for an unconditional release of all FARC captives, while stopping short of asking the group to surrender. Meanwhile, two rebels detained in the rescue face extradition to the U.S. for their role in the kidnapping of three American defense contractors.

#### 2 Washington Climate

Censorship?
A three-page letter by a former

Environmental **Protection Agency** official charges that Vice President Dick Cheney's office excised six pages on the adverse health effects of global warming from expert testimony before the Senate **Environment and Public Works** Committee in 2007. The White House said the pages were cut because they didn't match the findings of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. But Senator Barbara Boxer, who chairs the environment committee has called that statement a "lie," saving the cuts amounted to censorship.



Iraqi Prime Minister al-Maliki, right, arrives for a two-day visit to Abu Dhabi on July 6

### 3 United Arab Emirates That's What Friends Are For

The United Arab Emirates has written

off all the money owed to it by Iraq—
\$7 billion, including interest—as the U.S.

Estimated Iraqi debt, encourages Iraq's

craditors to forging

in billions of dollars

U.N. COMPENSATION
\$28

SAUDI ARABIA

15

KUWAIT

THE PARIS CLUB\*

8

QATAR

4

PARIS CLUB\*

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encourages Iraq's
creditors to forgive
some \$70 billion
remaining in
foreign debt
that the country
accrued under
former dictator
Saddam Hussein.
With Jordan
appointing an
ambassador to Iraq
ambassador to Iraq

last week and Kuwait and Bahrain saying they are soon to follow, the U.A.E.'s announcement is being seen in Baghdad and Washington as evidence of warming relations between Shi'ite Iraq and its Sunni neighbors.

#### 4 Baghdad

#### Iraq Wants a Withdrawal Date

Prime Minister Nourial-Malliki implied on July 7 that he wants a new agreement with the U.S. to spell out when foreign troops will leave—the sort of timeline the Bush Administration has long opposed. Iraq's national security adviser chimed in the next day, asying Baghdad was "impatiently" waiting for the U.S. to pull out troops: "We're unambiguously talkine about their departure." he said.

#### 5 France New Rules on Immigration

On July 7, the European Union's 27 member states unanimously backed an effort to standardize and tighten their Immigration and asylum policies. The pact (slated to be finalized at an October summit) was drafted by France, which has made immigration reform a centerpiece of the six-month E.U. presidency It assumed on July 1. Officials rejected criticism that the accordwhich calls for stiffer border controls and expulsion policies and an alignment of asylum rules-was intended to crack down on immigration. The proposal reached consensus only after certain elements, including an "Integration contract" dictating immigrants' behavior, were removed. An estimated 8 million illegal immigrants reside in the E.U.

Numbers:

Percentage of prospective voters
who think Congress is doing a good or
excellent lob, according to a July survey



Number of bids placed on eBay to buy the vote of 19-year-old Minnesotan Max Sanders, who was later charged with bribery and violating a 115-year-old state law against vote-selling

#### Briefing









issues







#### 6 Beijing

#### To Go or Not to Go

During the July 7-9 G-8 summit, Nicolas Sarkozy and Yasuo Fukuda became the latest heads of state to agree to attend the Beijing Olympics' opening ceremonies. disappointing Tibet advocates who had called for a boycott. Notable RSVPS so far:

President George W. Bush ✓ ATTENDING

\*Not going I never planned .. would be to participate in an affront to the opening." the Chinese people."

Angela Merkel × NOT ATTENDING Nicolas Sarkozy Says he will

attend in dual capacity as head of the European

Secretary-General Ban Kl-moon

X NOT ATTENDING Spokeswoman says he cannot attend because of scheduling

✓ ATTENDING "I would not like the Chinese to become unhappy. We are neighbors.

after all."

Prime Minister Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda Gordon Brown X NOT ATTENDING

Spokespeople say Brown will attend the closing instead.



VIOLENCE RETURNS Afghan authorities implied that Pakistan's intelligence agency was behind a July 7 suicide bombing at the Indian embassy in Kabul, above, that killed 41 people-the capital's deadliest since 2001. Pakistan denied involvement, while dealing with its own carnage: a July 6 bombing in Islamabad killed at least 18 on the one-year anniversary of a deadly government raid on the city's Red Mosque, and a series of small explosions rocked Karachi on July 7.

#### 8 Iran

#### Saber-Rattling, Via TV

Iran launched nine medium- and longrange missiles in a July o broadcast intended to prove that it could respond to an attack from the U.S. or Israel over its controversial nuclear program. The test, which officials said included a new version of Iran's Shahab-3 missile that can reach Israel and U.S. Gulf bases, came less than a day after President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad promised that "there won't be any war" with either nation.



Potential range: 1,250 miles (2,000 km)

#### Union. 9 Maryland Stalking

Salmonella's Source U.S. Food and Drug

Administration (FDA) officials are now looking at serrano peppers, cilantro and lalapeños, as well as tomatoes. as possible sources of the salmonella outbreak that has infected more than 1.000 people since April. These Items are commonly found in salsa, which many victims said they had consumed before they fell ill. Tomato growers say hasty finger-pointing by the FDA cost them millions in lost revenue.



Ancient text written on a 3-ft. (1 m) stone tablet may shed new light on the Easter story

#### 10 Jerusalem

#### Resurrection Foretold?

lews were familiar with the tale of a messiah rising from the dead after three days years before Jesus' birth, according to a new interpretation of a 1st century B.C. stone tablet. A controversial translation by Hebrew University scholar Israel Knohl contains the phrase "In three days you shall live"-setting a possible precedent for Christ's resurrection story.

#### What They're Watching in England



Apparently the spanking wasn't painful enough Formula One boss Max Mosley is waging a bruising court battle with Britain's News of the

World over its report on his allegedly Nazi-themed sadomasochistic orgy with five prostitutes. A video clip of the tryst, which has mesmerized the British tabloids and broadsheets alike. has drawn 3.5 million hits online.

Amount collected in fraudulent Medicare claims by hospital-equipment suppliers using dead doctors' MILLION signatures, according to a congressional investigation

Percentage of the adult population in China that is overweight or obese, as Chinese add more meat and dairy products to their diet



## Verbatim

For daily sound bites, visit time.com/quotes

# 'I'm not retiring until every American agrees with me.'

RUSH LIMBAUGH, conservative radio talkshow host, on his unprecedented new contract, estimated at \$400 million

# 'Now we're encouraging kids to talk to their parents—and grandparents.'

DR. SHARON LEE, medical director of HIV Wisdom for Older Women, on having youth teach their elders about safe sex as STD-infection rates rise in people 44 and older

# 'This is the greatest match I've ever seen.'

JOHN MCENROE, three time Wimbledon champion, after Rafael Nadal (right) defeated Roger Federer in the longest men's singles final in the tournament's history—4 hr. 48 min.

#### 'I'm tired of seeing Christians back down in fear of a lawsuit.'

ANDRE BAUER. lieutenant governor of South Carolina, on concerns that federal courts will stop the state's plan to issue the country's first-ever Christian license plates

#### 'I thought I had the picket fence.'

CHRISTIE BRINKLEY, supermodel, testifying during her divorce trial about discovering husband Peter Cook's affair

#### 'The issue is trust and confidence.'

ROBERT MAGINNIS. retired U.S. Army lieutenant colonel, after releasing a study on the military's "Don't ask, don't tell" policy, saying homosexuality does not affect a soldier's ability to serve

## 'I'm not going to sit here and psychoanalyze the man.'

GEORGE W. BUSH. on his initial meeting with Russian President Dmitri Medvedev; after first meeting Medvedev's predecessor, Vladimir Putin, Bush said he came away with a "sense of his soul"















#### Back & Forth War over Withdrawal

Barack Obama's comment that he might rethink his stance on the Iraq war drew fire from Republican rival John McCain, who claims the Democratic presidential nominee is shying away from his proposed 16-month phased withdrawal

#### JULY 2

I'm sure I'll have more information and will continue to refine my policies."

Obama, on his plan to talk with ground commanders during an upcoming trip to Iraq

#### JULY 3

Now that Barack Obama has changed course and proven his past positions to be just empty words, we would like to congratulate him.

Brian Rogers, McCain spokesman, saying Obama has adopted McCain's position of a long-term presence in Iraq

#### ULY 5

'I was a little puzzled by the frenzy that I set off.'

Obama, rejecting the Bush

Administration's "stay-the-course" policy

#### JULY 5

'What's really puzzling is that Barack Obama still doesn't understand that his words matter.' Tucker Bounds, McCain spokesman

#### JULY 6

'The Republicans, and John McCain specifically, are trying desperately to get away from the reality of John McCain's position.' John Kerry, U.S. Senator, calling McCain's attacks a diversion

#### JULY 8

'His statements were seen as a blunder at best and a flip-flop at worst.'

Roger Simon, of Politico, describing Obama's trip to Iraq as a political trap

#### JULY 9

'I have been as crystal clear now as I was a year ago.' Obama, saying he would end the war carefully but deliberately



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# **The Page**

BY MARK HALPERIN

every day on

Read Mark Halperin thepage.time.com



ROUND	1
ISSUE	Public Image
ACTION	Barack Obama's apparent move to the center on a range of issues has Republicans and many commentators questioning his credibility and integrity. If he loses in November, this as the issue of the significant of the Swift Boat ads a turning point in the race—just as the issuech of the Swift Boat ads against John Kerry marked the beginning of his presidential bid in 2004.



Obama was confident that his stark contrast with John McCain on ending the war in Iraq would be a foundation for his argument for change. Now that he's shifted from stressing the withdrawal of U.S. troops to assessing the situation

in Iraq first. that advantage is reduced substantially. And it could dissipate even more when the topic is invariably raised in the fall debates.

#### Economy Arrival of the Cavairy

Sharp new

battleground-

state television

McCain allies-

the Republican

veterans who

Afghanistan-

Committee and a

group of American

served in Iraq and

suggests that the

National

advertising from

After a week in which both candidates presented their policies and attacked the other guy's record and ideas, neither

McCain nor Obama has broken out as the leader on this issue. For a guestion that should give a huge advantage to the Democrats, the answers still sound like 'yada, yada, vada"-on both sides.

spending disparity between the sides might not be as tilted in Obama's favor as some Republicans feared only last month.

#### Veepstakes Countdown. With the clock

ticking, Obama and McCain weigh runningmate options

FOR THOSE KEEPING SCORE. the vice-presidential picks made public in less than eight weeks. But until then, most of the action will be behind the scenes. John McCain and be soliciting the opinions of aides and friends on whom to pick (and why), while hiding their own views.

There are some developments: Virginia Senator Jim Webb took himself out of the running after edly requested background materials-an indication



of where it may be in the process. And Florida's Republican governor Charlie Crist staved in the news with plans to remarry after nearly 30 years of bachelorhood.

Still. Veen tea leaves can be more distracting than revealing. So, if you're asked at a cock tail party about the most likely picks (or at least want to parrot the political pros), here are your safest choices-for now: REPUBLICANS Crist, former Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney, Minnesota governor Tim Pawlenty DEMOCRATS Virginia governor Tim Kaine, Kansas governor

#### RESULTS

REPUBLICANS	V	V	V	
DEMOCRATS				
TIE			X	

#### WINNER OF THE WEEK: REPUBLICANS

Despite Obama's splashy news that he'll deliver his nomination acceptance speech in a 76,000-seat football stadium, his campaign is still proceeding with caution-leaving Obama open to aggressive GOP attacks.



\* \* \* NOT ALL ROUNDS ARE CREATED EQUAL \* \* \* The week's winner is based on the relative importance of each fight and by how much the winner takes each round.

WEEK BY V	VEEK					TOTAL
	JUNE	JULY	AUG.	SEPT.	OCT.	WON
REPUBLICANS		VEV				2
DEMOCRATS	VEVV					3

Kathleen Sebelius, Indiana Senator Evan Bayh

## A Brief History Of:

#### Kabbalah



N THE BEGINNING, THERE WAS MADONNA. AT LEAST THAT'S how most see the modern history of Kabbalah-the New Agey revival of traditional Jewish mysticism recently linked in the tabloids to a love triangle involving the Material Girl and married New York Yankees slugger Alex Rodriguez. Yet despite its high-profile Hollywood associations, the Kabbalah tradition-which involves the attempt to more directly understand God through contemplation and arcane textual study-stretches back centuries

Kabbalah cohered and still revolves around its essential book, the Zohar-a gargantuan work penned in 13th century Spain by Moses de León-that explores divine mysteries under the guise of a commentary on the Torah. But it wasn't until the 18th century emergence of Hasidism as a lewish movement in Eastern Europe that Kabbalah began to expand beyond its tiny group of scholars. Many Kabbalist masters. however, were killed in the Holocaust, causing the practice to languish temporarily.

Most celebrity practitioners, including Madonna and actress Demi Moore, are members of the Los Angeles-based Kabbalah Centre, which distances itself from the tradition's Jewish roots in favor of a more nonspecific spirituality. Followers take expensive courses and wear red strings on their wrists to ward off the Evil Eye (a practice not directly linked to traditional Kabbalah study). While some Jewish leaders have criticized the group for turning an ancient tradition into a sham pop spirituality (see its cynical sales of supposedly curative "Kabbalah water"), the center's emphasis on a more personal connection with the Almighty might not necessarily have seemed out of place to its earliest adherents. - BY GILBERT CRUZ Seeking mysteries A woman prays in a cave containing the tombs of rabbis in Safed, Israel, the capital of Jewish mysticism

#### FLOW OF FAITH 12TH CENTURY



bahir is written. establishing the Kabbalistic Idea of 10 seffrot, or divine emanations. representing various aspects of God

The Sefer ha-

13TH CENTURY The Zohar. Kabbalah's main text, is written 1572 Influential mystic scholar

Rabbi Isaac Luria dies, Pilgrims today still travel to his grave in Safed, Israel, an ancient center of Kabbalistic thought 1971 Philip and Karen

Berg open their first Kabbalah Centre 1997 Madonna begins to practice Kabbalah

#### THE SKIMMER



#### Where the Wild Things

By William Stolzenburg; 201 pages

NATURE'S UNDERDOGS have no shortage of human protectors, but don't count William Stolzenburg among them. In Where the Wild Things Were, the seasoned wildlife writer reminds us that predation. not parity, is nature's organizing principle. Beyond his affection for fierce carnivores, he argues persuasively that keystone predators function as biological linchpins-without them. ecosystems plunge into chaos. To underline this point. he whisks readers from kelp forests to arctic tundra, revealing the "evolutionary dance between predator and prey"-how a dearth of wolves and cougars helped spur an infestation of white-tailed deer that munched Wisconsin's forests to the nub and how an absence of jaguars paradoxically caused a Panamanian reserve's bird population to wither. Stolzenburg narrates these cautionary tales with a conservationist's attention to ecological detail and a childlike reverence for flesh-tearing beasts. His infectious enthusiasm should spark even in bug-warv urbanites a renewed appreciation for nature's complexity.

-BY ALEX ALTMAN READ V

SKIM TOSS

#### Briefing

# **Pop Chart**



MADONNA and A-ROD! Totally explains why he was out for weeks with a "groin pull'



head at Berlin wax museum. Wax Goebbels requests transfer to





Former Clinton spokesman HOWARD WOLFSON to join Fox News



HIGH SCHOOL MUSICAL stars unlikely to sign on



BALLOON MAN flies to Idaho



Lost footage of German silent film METROPOLIS found in Argentina

SACHA BARON COHEN suspected of orchestrating gay cage fight in Arkansas. Sure,



MCCONAUGHEY baby born wearing more clothes than Daddy



**CROCODILE DUNDEE** at war with Australian tax authorities



NICOLE KIDMAN names baby Sunday Rose Urban, J. Crew wishes it had thought of that



DREW BARRYMORE and Mac guy JUSTIN LONG go their separate ways. He'll always have PC Guy



OSBOURNE FAMILY to



VILLAGE PEOPLE'S policeman undergoes vocal-cord surgery, decades too late



bankruptcy



ASHLEY DUPRE in negotiations for reality show. Other reality shows actually ashamed



### **Milestones**



#### Jesse Helms

MY FIRST PAYING JOB IN politics was working for lesse Helms' U.S. Senate campaign in 1972. Helms, who died on July 4 at 86, was a classic populist-he presented his conservative agenda in plain terms that the average person could relate to. And he made history as the first Republican elected to the Senate from North Carolina after Reconstruction. Of course, during his 30-year political career, he was considered controversial:

he always thought his job was not to be popular but to do the right thing. I must have heard him quote his father a thousand times: "The Lord does not require you to win, but he does require you to try."

During his first decade in the Senate, he didn't win much, But after Ronald Reagan was elected, he was able to get a lot of bills signed into law with Reagan's help. As chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. he was there every step of the way as Reagan worked to end the cold war.

He is known as an unwavering conservative, but he often worked across the aisle. In the 1990s, he and Senator Joe Biden collaborated on significant U.N. reform, and at the end of the Clinton presidency, Helms and his fellow Repubbudget agreement, something he had fought for since his first day on Capitol Hill in 1973.

His conservative principles were matched by his compassion. Originally, he didn't think there should be a big government role in combating AIDS. So Bono, who is an advocate for the cause, asked to see him. Bono convinced him, and they worked together-eventually securing some \$200 million to fight AIDS in Africa. In a message to the Helms family this week. Bono said that thanks to Jesse Helms' efforts. 2 million lives were saved. -BY CHARLIE BLACK

Black is chief political strategist to Senator John McCain

investing, you need to keep

#### Sir John Templeton

A GREAT TEACHER AND investor with a gentle and loving disposition, Sir John Templeton, who died on July 8 at 95, pioneered value investing beyond U.S. shores long before global investing became commonplace, and that made him a financial legend. His success lav in patiently waiting for prices to reach "points of maximum pessimism." In addition to leading me into global emerging markets by asking me to manage the first Templeton emerging-markets fund, he taught me and others how to become investors by pursuing long-term goals and undervalued securities. He taught us that in order to find the best investment



opportunities, you must open your mind to all possibilities around the world. More important, he showed us that if you want to be successful in any endeavor, particularly

an open mind and be willing to learn. His investment career spanned five decades, but his lifelong devotion was to spiritual concerns and philanthropy. While Sir John was famous as a financialindustry legend and visionary. we knew him as a man of strong principles and wisdom, but more important, as a loving father to his children and friend to all who worked with him. His greatest lesson was humility, not only by practicing it himself but also by showing us that only through humility can you achieve great understanding. -BY J. MARK MOBIUS

Mobius is executive chairman of Templeton Asset Management

the original Bozo the Clown, Larry Harmon was perhaps the best. First portraving Bozo in 1952, Harmon later acquired the rights to the character and trained others to portray him. As his wife Susan recalls. "At one time he had 183 different Bozos all going at the same time in this country!" His dedication to the icon and ability to make people laugh were pervasive, "You would be sitting at dinner, and he would do the Bozo laugh for you." his wife says. "He was a born

entertainer." Harmon was 83.

he wasn't

A man who passed his state's bar exam without having attended a day of law school, former National Park Service director George Hartzog was anything but conventional. During his nine year tenure as director, the South Carolina native brought nearly 70 new areas-some 2.7 million acres (1.1 million hectares)under Park Service protection and often used daring techniques to secure funding, including shutting down parks two days each week when President Richard Nixon cut the budget in 1969. After a public outcry, the funding was restored. and Hartzog's legacy was secured as a dedicated proponent of the environment. He was 88.

■ By age 12, Russian ballerina Irina Baronova had already won critics' hearts, thanks to famed choreographer George Balanchine. He launched the young dancer's career when he cast her in a 1931 performance of the operetta Orpheus In the Underworld. Baronova went on to perform in ballets such as Swan Lake and The Sleeping Beauty, but she is best known for touring the world with two other young Balanchine protégés. The trio, known as the "Baby Ballerinas," was

in the 1930s.

Raronova

was 89.

hugely popular



# A Heartbeat Away. If drafted, he will run. If nominated, he will accept. But to be Vice President, Joel has to get vetted first

MY CHILDHOOD DREAM WAS TO GROW UP to be Vice President, That way, I figured. I'd get to be in history books, but I wouldn't have to do any work. I am the one person who, even after my parents pointed him out on TV, aspired to become Walter Mondale. With voters asking for change, this might be my year. So I called a person who has vetted vice-presidential candidates for past nominees and asked him to vet me. Because of the sensitive nature of his work, he requested that he remain anonymous-and that I not give him a stupid fake name like Eddie Vetter. Some people learned a different kind of lesson from Watergate.

The vetting process has three steps.

According to—and this is per his request—the Brad Fit of the Washington legal community. Phase 1 involves 30 to 50 potential candidates whose past public records and statements are researched. The people who make it through are then contacted by either the candidate or Mr. Pitt and asked if they want to be considered. Many say no. often because they know something will come out in the vetting process that they'd rather keep quiet. After a long pause. I said Tellike to continue.

Mr. Pitt hen ran me through an bour-long version of a process that would normally include a questionnaire and a request for my medical files, lax returns and financial disclosure reports. He assked the Thomas Eagleton question about mental problems, which I passed. He asked the Zoe Baird question about employing illegal immigrants and not paying their taxes. I confessed didth. Know much about our gardners citizen-

'You'd be atypical of most vice-presidential candidates,' said my vetter. 'Usually they've done stuff.' ship status, given that I tape a \$100 check to my door every month that is made out to simply "Rafel." It turns out I'm safely below the \$1,000 per-quarter exemption for both Rafael and my housekeeper. Apparently, America doesn't care if its Vice President horribly exploits workers.

He asked me the Gary Hart question, and I told him I'm happily, faithfully married to my lovely wife Cassandra. Then he



asked, "As far as you know, has she always been faithful to you?" That one messed with my head. Especially when he said he would be calling her too. I asked if people or their spouses usually make confessions here. "People tend to come pretty clean in the vetting process," he said. I told him that for the sake of saving time, he didn't need to call Cassandra. I confessed to several pot brownies I'd eaten, which did not concern him. I told him I didn't abuse alcohol. I'd paid my taxes. I didn't belong to any controversial organizations, or any organizations at all, "You'd be atypical of most vice-presidential candidates," he said. "Usually they've done stuff."

It seemed as if I might have a real shot at getting tapped for the vice presidency. "So far, I haven't found anything," said Mr. Pitt. "You're like the last honest man in America." Then Mr. Pitt got very serious." Is there anything that might come out that we should know about? What can't happen here is that the nominee reads something in the paper that you didn't disclose in the vetting process." After he says this to candidates, every one of them tells him something—from false accusations from old law partners to an uncaught drunk-driving experience that someone witnessed.

I told him some of my MP3s were pirated, which didn't concern him. Unable to think of anything else wrong I'd done. I figured I'd mention that I once wrote a very unpopular column about not supporting the troops. "Wha!? You wrote a

column about how you don't support the troops? This is what we in the business would call a showstopper. Yikes." He then went to my Wikipedia page and informed me that I would have gotten axed in the first two minutes of Phase 1.

While I was trying to defend whyself, apparently Mr. Pitt checked out my website. "Your official website says you're the guy who loves porn and hates America." he said. When I explaimed that was a joke, he told me jokes don't make for good campaigning. "Generally, people don't like to know that heir Vice President wrote the sentence" I love porn." I'm now looking at the un published Jole Stein columns. "The

Hooker in My Car? I'm now reading your column about your marijuan brownies. It's not the best thing in the world. This column is about your travels through the Girls Gone Wild world. If we did this for real, It would have called you and said we don't have to waste your time. And we would really appreciate it if you would actually endorse our opponent.

Not only would I never become Vice

President, Mr. Pitt assured me, but I could never run for any public office. "Not in this country, no. Maybe France. They might be a little bigger on porn and hat ing America," he said. Before I could be come Vice President, he told me, America would have its first female, Jewish, Hispanic, agw. Muslim and exconvict Vice Presidents. Still, Vice President of France doesn't sound bad at all.



#### Luke's Challenge

With unpredictable weather and towering dunes, Royal Birkdale will present a formidable challenge at this year's Open Championship. Success for RBS sponsored Luke Donald will depend on his ability to harness his innate focus and discipline. Will Luke's make it happen attitude be rewarded this year with his first Open Championship title?

rbs.com/sport

Make it happen





# 2008 OPEN CHAMPIONSHIP

There is something inherently haunting about any Open Championship. Perhaps it is simply its age. One of the oldest aporting events in the world, it settles in your mind wearing woolen plus-fours and a grey beard down to here. But when it arrives at Royal Birkdale Golf Club, as it shall for the 9th time this summer, there is an additional aura. At St. Addrews and Tumberry, at Mulrifled and Royal St. Georges, at most of the other stops on the rotation, you have no doubt the sea is a sand iron away. It is, after all, what The Open has been about all these decades. The four primary requirements to hold this championship have always been sand dunes, water, wind, links. It is why The Open likely will never be held intand.

Birkdale follows those rules but there is one rather ominous aside: you never see the water from the nearby Irish Sea. You know it is there, you can feel it, smell it, hear it, but

the dunes are so high that it never comes into sight. The wind, full of salt, comes whistling down the dusty corridors, bumping off the sidewalls, wreaking havoc with your game.

There, the Australian great Peter Thomson won his first Open Championship and the last of his five. There, Annold Palmer won his first of two straight. There, Leo Trevino his first of two in a row. There Tom Walson, his last of five. There Ian Baker-Finch, his one and only. There Mark O'Heara in that remarkable few months of 1988 when he added The Open to a last-minute Maskers.

There now again. With the sea providing the background music, hidden somewhere over the dunes, another dance with history is due.

Jim Huber, TNT Essayist

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TNT

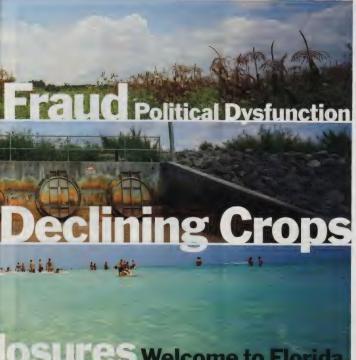




Is it the Sunset State? Beset by a real estate crash, environmental chaos and political turmoil—don't even mention hurricanes—Florida confronts the death of a dream

BY MICHAEL GRUNWALD/MIAMI

Photographs for TIME by Andrew Kaufman



Welcon

REETINGS FROM FLORIDA, where the winters are great! Otherwise, there's trouble in paradise. We're facing our worst real estate meltdown since the Depression. We've got a water crisis, insurance crisis, environmental crisis and budget crisis to go with our housing crisis. We're first in the nation in mortgage fraud, second in foreclosures, last in high school graduation rates. Our consumer confidence just hit an all-time low, and our icons are in trouble-the citrus industry.

battered by freezes and diseases; the Florida panther, displaced by highways and driveways; the space shuttle, approaching its final countdown. New research suggests that the Everglades is collapsing, that our barrier beaches could be under water within decades, that a major hurricane could cost us \$150 billion.

We do wish you were here, because attracting outsiders has always been our primary economic engine, and our engine is sputtering. Population growth is at a 30-year low. School enrollment is declinSwamped Failed housing, top, meets farm in Homestead; outflow pipes, middle, dump precious water; beaches, bottom, are polluted by sewage

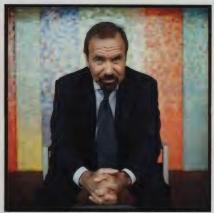
ing. Retirees are drifting to the Southwest and the Carolinas, while would be Floridians who bought preconstruction condos in more optimistic times are scramblingand often suing-to break contracts. This is our dotcom bust, except worse, because our local governments are utterly dependent on construction for tax revenues, so they're slashing school and public-transportation budgets that were already among the nation's stinglest. "This may be our tipping point," says former Senator Bob Graham.

Florida was once a swampy rural backwater, the poorest and emptiest state in the South. But in the 20th century, air-conditioning, bug spray and the miracle of water control helped transform it into a migration destination for the restless masses of Brooklyn and Cleveland, Havana and Port-au Prince. Florida developed its own ventricle at the heart of the American Dream-not only as an affordable playground and comfortable retirement home with no income tax but also as a state of escape and opportunity, a Magic Kingdom for tourists, a Fountain of Youth for seniors, a Cape Canaveral for Northerners looking to launch their second acts. Even the soggy Everglades, once considered a God-forsaken hellhole, became a national treasure.

But now the financial and environmental bill for a century of runaway growth and exploitation is coming due. The housing bust has exposed a human pyramid scheme-an economy that relied on a thousand newcomers a day, too many of them construction workers, mortgage bankers, real estate agents and others whose livelihoods depended on importing a thousand more newcomers the next day. And the elaborate water-management scheme that made southern Florida habitable has been stretched beyond capacity, vo-voing between brutal droughts and floods, converting the Everglades into a tinderbox and a sewer, ravaging the beaches, bays, lakes and reefs that made the region so alluring in the first place. "The dream is fading," says University of South Florida historian Gary Mormino. "People think Florida is too crowded, too spoiled, too expensive, too crazy, too many

immigrants-name your malady." Still, the winters really are great! And this doom-and-glooming might sound familiar. In 1981. TIME declared crimeand drug-plagued South Florida a "Paradise Lost." The region then embarked on an epic boom. Southeast Floridaincluding Miami, Fort Lauderdale, West Palm Beach-ballooned into the nation's seventh largest metro, while southwest Florida-Naples, Cape Coral, Fort Myersbecame the fastest-growing metro. Last year 82.4 million visitors found their way to this lost paradise. And last month Governor Charlie Crist unveiled a \$1.75 billion deal to buy the U.S. Sugar Corp. and its 187,000 acres of farmland, a move that would help restore the Everglades. It's the state's best eco-news in decades.

So lifers like seventh-generation Floridian Allison DeFoor—lawyer, lobbyist, historian, Episcopal minister, environmen-



Opportunist Developer Jorge Pérez, CEO of the Related Group, is building a \$1 billion fund to buy distressed properties. He will have plenty of them to choose from



Going under Left unchecked, global warming will raise sea levels enough to submerge Miami Beach by 2100, says University of Miami coastal geologist Harold Wanless



tal consultant and Republican operative are disinclined to panic just yet. "Sure, it's the end of Florida as we know it," DeFoor quips. "It's always the end of Florida as we know it."

Florida's history is lush with volatility and filmflam. As Groucho Marx's real estate huckster warned in The Coconnuts in 1929, "You can even get stucco' Oh, how you can get stucco' But eventually, the lies always seemed to come true, because there were always new dreamers from coid climates, and worthless swampland was just a drainage canal and a zoning variance away from becoming a golf course subdivision. Yet even boosters admit it hat Plorida's

Miracle-Gro has created many of its current problems. "We need steady growth, not crazy growth," Crist says. There's a sense that paradise has been ruined by awful traffic, overcrowded schools, overtapped aquifers and polluted beaches. The land of Disney dreams for the middle class is now a high-cost, low-wage state with Mickey Mouse schools and Goofy insurance rates, living beyond its environmental and economic means in harm's way. As peculiar as it sounds, this go-for-broke state of boundless possibilities-the land of Kimbo Slice, Miami Vice and Mar-a-Lago-might be leading America into a new era of limits.

#### The Busted Dream

JUAN PUIG EMBODIED THE FLORIDA DREAM. proving that an ordinary guy with moxie could make a fortune and enjoy the high life by selling the dream to others. A Cuban immigrant, he started his career as a janitor and then a baggage handler at the Miami airport, living in a Hialeah apartment without air-conditioning, peddling sunglasses to co-workers on the side. In the 1990s, he discovered real estate, rehabbing and selling a few foreclosed duplexes. then developing town houses and branching into condo conversions as the market went nuts. He soon built a statewide empire with 300 employees, including a staff priest who blessed his projects. He bought a waterfront mansion in Coral Gables, a fleet of classic cars, a Ferretti yacht, huge collections of fine wine, Cuban art and luxury watches. Just last year he spent \$80,000 on an antique billiard table.

Puig's financial records were a mess, and his accountant was a convicted felon with ties to the Colombian drug kingpin, Pablo Escobar. But that never seemed to bother Puig's investors or lenders, who kept showering him with money as long as condo prices kept soaring. It certainly didn't bother Puig, who explained in a recent deposition that he never paid attention to his books. in part because his expertise was in matters like where to advertise property and whether to paint the doors yellow or white, and in part because he never imagined the Florida housing market could tank: "Of course, I trusted that the business, like always, would be successful."

ways, would be success. Now that South Florida has tied Las Vegas as the nation's fastest-tanking rael estate market, Puig is bankrupt, with \$80 million in debts. His mansion was liquidated for srt., million, and his yacht went back to the bank, at Puig's bankruptey auction, bidders competed for a necklace studded with 226 diamonds, a Sopranoe pinball machine, a 1965 Ferrari, indesigner bises and other bubble baubles. The billiard table went for \$25,000." It's anazing how fast ital learne crashing down," says Puig's criminal defense attorney, tool Hirschhorn.

In the Paradise Lost days, Hirschhorn worked the white powder har, representing Medellin cartel leaders and other coaine cowboys. Then he wore a pinkiering with a two carat Glamond; now he wears Brooks Brothers and defends fraud cases. "It's where the action is," he explains with a grin. An epidemic of inflated appraisals, exagerated incomes, straw buyers—and the lax regulation to enable it all—has made florida tops in mortgage fraud, according to the Mortgage Asset Research Institute; in a recent Palm Beach County case, a grocery

Keep the cell phone on, Paul, In some Miami high-rises, the foreclosure rate is as high as 1 in 4, and owners who still own are getting nailed with huge condo fees to make up for the lost revenue. Florida banks repossessed 620% more property last year than in 2006, and they're starting to unload nonperforming real estate loans for as low as 30¢ on the dollar. Miami topped a recent list of America's worst housing markets, just ahead of Orlando, with Tampa fourth. From 20% to 40% of the speculators who waited on lines to buy preconstruction condos during the boom are expected to walk away from those investments before closing; many are turning to a new cottage industry of get-your-depositback lawyers. "The ambulance chasers are everywhere," says developer Jorge Pérez, the so-called Trump of the Tropics, whose Related Group faces more than 100 lawsuits by remorseful buyers, "We've gone from euphoria to panic in a year."

And we haven't hit bottom. The glutted Miami market already has a five-year inventory, but Peter Zalewski of Condo Vultures says 22,000 more condos are still under construction downtown, which will double the supply. "Just wait. We haven't even started to feel what we're going to feel," he says.

That's also true in Florida's exurban boomtowns, communities like Home-boomtowns, communities like Home-stead, Port St. Lucie and Kissimmee, that subprime bornowers flocked to for cheaper land and betterdeals. Now their homes are going back to the bank, and their neighborhoods are dotted with unmowed lawns and mosquito-infested pools. "Those low er-priced options are the places that are Those low Archen, head of the University of Florida's real estate program."

The problem is, even those lowerpriced options aren't cheap. Florida's prices remain higher than the national average—especially when you count sky high property taxes and insurance premiums that can be as burdensome as mortgage payments—while its wages are lower. Fitch Ratings warned that when a big hurtican this, Florida's insurance market "could effectively collapse." That won't jump start a recovery.

#### Water, Water, Everywhere

NOBODY USED TO WORRY ABOUT THE BIG One hitting Florida, because it was a waterlogged wilderness."It is a land of swamps, of quagmires, of frogs and alligators and mosquitoes!" a Congressman scoffed. "A man, sir, would not immigrate into Florida—no, not from hell itself!" in 1880. Florida ranked

'How can you not be optimistic about Florida? Is there a more beautiful place on the planet?'



34th of 42 states and territories in population, and the census found only 257 residents in most of South Florida.

Florida's leaders believed that if they could just drain the swamp, they could turn a peninsular wasteland into a recreational, agricultural and residential paradise. They failed catastrophically. In 1928, a hurricane blasted Lake Okeechobee, killing some 2,000 pioneers that their promises had drawn to the Everplades.

But U.S. Army engineers eventually made the dream come true by imprisoning Lake O behind a giant dike, subduing the Everglades with 2,000 miles of levees and canals, seizing control of nearly every raindrop that fell in southern Florida. Their all-out war on natural water flow made the bottom half of the state safe for an unrestrained building frenzy that began after World War II and basically continued until Juan Puig bought his billiard table. Florida now has 18 million residents, most of them south of Orlando. Such progress had a price. Half the Everglades is gone. The rest is polluted, disconnected and infested by invasive species ranging from fast-growing ferns to pythons.

And South Florida is having an ecological and hydrological meltdown, the legacy of a century of plumbing and dredging and growing without much thinking. The Everglades ecosystem now hosts to ghe threatened or endangered species, and its rookeries and fisheries have crashed. Massive algal blooms are turning Florida Bay tinto pea soup. The region's reef's have lost up to 39% of their elkhorn coral, persistent red tides have made it tough for sunbathers to the substantial to the peach.

Now the rainiests wath of the country is running dry, facing a specter of structural droughts. And the dike around Lake O. is leaking so badly that water managers routhely dump billions of precious gallons out of the lake to avoid a 1928 style calarmity, ravaging estuaries and draining the region's water supply. This spring the lake fell so low that 4,0,000 acres of its exposed bottom burned out of control, along with 40,000 acres of the perennially parched Evertalesk National Park.

We have water, water, everywhere, but much of South Florida's per capita use is 50% above the national average, and we've lost half the wetlands that used to recharge our aquifers. So water shortages threaten to limit growth in a way that wetlands regulations or bad head lines never could. "Florida is astonishingly wasteful," says Cynthia Barnett, author of Mirage Florida and the Vanishing Water of the Eastern U.S. Now the Orlandoa reals pushing to souk water out of rivers to its north, local utilities are jacking up water rates as much as 35%, and South 1



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Florida's water board may cap withdrawals from Everglades aquifers. "The idea of water shortages down here never occurred to anyone," says environmentalist Shannon Estenoz, a Crist appointee to the board. "But we've got to change the culture because the status quo is unsustainable."

It's not just gator-huggers who say that. Back in 1995, a 42-member commission stocked with bankers, farmers and developers released a unanimous report declaring South Florida unsustainable, warning that the ecosystem's destruction was hurt-

ing people as well as panthers by lowering water tables, increasing flood risks, fueling gridlock and replacing paradise with "mindnumbing homogeneity, and a distinct lack of place." In the words of the novelist and columnist Carl Hiaasen, the bard of Florida's decline, "You don't have to be a wacko enviro to want your kids to be able to swim in a lake or maybe see an animal that isn't in a cage or a seaquarium. And even people who don't give a rat's ass about the panther will care when saltwater comes out of their faucets."

That's why Democrats. Republicans, the sugar industry and environmentalists came together in 2000 to support a 812 billion plan to revive the Everglades, the largest ecosystem-restoration project in history. But the project has stumbled and stalled, which

is why Crist's sugar deal is so exciting. It will ressentially take Everglades restoration back to the drawing board, reviving hope for a free-flowing River of Grass and a stable water supply.

But quality of life remains the biggest risk to the Florida dream. So many Northeastern transplants are leaving Florida for other states with less congestion and tetreducation systems that they have their own nickname: Halfbacks. In 2000, Florida attracted 19% of the nations migrating seniors; by 2006, it was only 13%. Florida still has some of America's richest zir

'Even people who don't give a rat's ass about the panther will care when saltwater comes out of their faucets.'

— CARL HIAASEN, MIAMI HERALD COLUMNIST, ON FLORIDA'S ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES codes, but it ranks among the worst states in school spending and health coverage.

The cor-controlled legislature has responded to the state's wose with portacted arguments about evolution and other Terri Schiavo-style social issues as well as legislation proposing crackdowns on bikers who pop wheelies, students who weardroopy pants and truckers who hang fake cojones on their rigs. It also slashed spillion from the state budget. 'Jivst got in an argument about whether we're 50th or45th in the nation in graduation rates.'



Countdown Space Coast economic development head Lynda Weatherman needs to replace 6,000 jobs when the shuttle program ends

says Florida house minority leader Dan Gelber. "What a great debate to have."

#### "The Outlook Is Always Bright Here!"

I WAS ALBEADY FEELING GRUMPY ABOUT All this when I watched a lecture by the University of Miami's renowned coastal geologist Handle Wanless. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change had predicted a sealevel rise of up to 2 ft. by 2100. But Wanless meticulously explained why 3 ft. to 4 ft. is much more likely—assuming the world can slash carbon emissions enough to slow global warming. Ilive in Miami Beach, sold din't care for his PowerPoint Silde showing much of Miami Beach under water. "That Si we get our act together," he said. Then he showed a slide of all Miami Beach subdreged. "That Si fwe don't."

I felt better after talking to the bubbly Crist, who's like human Prozac. "How can you not be optimistic about Florida?" he asked. "Is there a more beautiful place on the planet?" He then recounted a story that probably worl't help him in the cov Veep stakes: "John McCain told me, "It's tough in those Rust Belt states. You really feel a bit of depression in people's outlook. But when you get to Florida, people feel great.' And it's true! The outlook is always bright here!" When I reminded him of Florida's growth-heallenged conomy and growth ravaged environment, he took no offense. "We're going to make a new Floridal" he declared.

He means a sustainable Florida. He's been doing his part environmentally,

pushing a sweeping energy bill through the fractious legislature, fulfilling his pledge to be the "Everglades governor." His greatest challenge, though, is economic sustainability, attracting highwage industries that don't depend on perpetual growth. His predecessor, leb Bush, lured a few biotech firms, with the help of lavish subsidies, and Crist has targeted green-tech sectors like solar power as well as global trade. But not even corporate titans who enjoy Florida vacations seem eager to relocate to a high-priced state with a service-economy workforce and troubled schools. "The decisions about relocating high-paying businesses are made by people who value education, and Florida isn't ready for the modern economy," says Graham, the former Senator.

New corporate subsides will be a tough fiscal sell. "The politicians have told us: Not if it costs money," says Space Coast economic-development director Lynda Weatherman. The shuttle will be canceled in 2010, and her region may lose 6,000 jobs. "Six thousand one, if Lan't figure out how to attract new ones," she says."

Still, did I mention the winters are nice? As baby boomers retire, as Hispanic markets expand, as leftist dictators haras wealthy South Americans, some people will always want to come to Florida. In anticipation of the next boom, developer Flere: has set up a 5 tiblion fund to buy distressed properties, and Zalewski of Condo Vultures has been besiged by for eign investors. "Eventually, Florida is going to grow again," he says.

The question is whether it will grow up if Florida can reinvent itself, if can be the tip of the American spear, showing the nation how to save water and energy, manage growth, restore-cosystems and retool economies in an era of less. But that will require a new kind of reinvention. "We know how to crash and how to recover," says Maimi historian Arva Moore Parks. "We don't seem to know how to learn." \*\*





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# The Not-Quite Bailout Congress's housing bill won't stop the foreclosure

mess. That doesn't mean it's a bad idea

Extra Money
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the economy, go to
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BARNET FRANK IS ON THE LINE. I ASK the Massachusetts Democrat, who chairs the House Financial Services Committee, if he thinks the housing bill that he and Senator Chris Dodd are on the verge of pushing through Congress will really do much good. Frank first trots out a joke from the late comedian Henny Youngman: "How's your wife?" Answer: "Compared to what?" Then he gets a bit more serious. "Do! I think it's gonna have a great impac?" he says. "It's gonna have

an impact. I think it will be helpful."

It's not the most rousing endorsement. But it's probably afair assessment, at least for the centerpiece of the sprawling legislation—a plan to use the insurance guarantees of the Federal Housing Administration (Fen A) to enticle endors to renegotiate up to \$300 billion in troubled home loans. It might do some good, and the fact that Frank can't bring himself to say more may have less to do with the legislation itself than with the immensity of the problem Congress is trying to address.

The problem is that, from 2005 through 2006, mortgage lenders extended trillions of dollars in loans that they never should have made, driving house prices to unsustainable levels in many areas. Now millions of borrowers can't make their payments, prices are plunging, and the global financial system is finding out how dependent it had become on dodey U.S. mortgages.

This correction process—in which both homeowners and lenders eat losses on their investments—can't be stopped entirely. It shouldn't be stopped, and going forward, a major priority for regulators will

This correction process—in which both homeowners and lenders eat losses on their investments—can't be stopped entirely. It shouldn't be stopped

be averting such lending binges—as new, tougher mortage rules from the Federal Reserve aim to do. But at the same time, many on Wall Street and in Washington fear that the correction could careen into the asi netwerned at the top of the financial food chain by cutting interest rates and bankrolling a shotgun takeover of the investment bank Bear Stearns. And it's why there's been lots of talk in Washington



about doing something—anything—to slow the tide of mortgage foreclosures.

About 3 million homeowners will de fault this year on their mortgages (the first step in the foreclosure process), forecasts the first step in the foreclosure process), forecasts Moody's Economy.com. That's double last year's number and amounts to 6% of all U.S. mortgages. The fear is that mass foreclosures could accelerate price declines, bringing on a cascade of additional foreclosures and economic trouble in their wake. "I get this sense in an increasing number of markets around the country that this death spiral is developing," says Mark Zandi, chief economist of Moody's Economy.com and an outspoken advocate of doing more to combat foreclosures.

Up to now, the main such effort has been a voluntary deal announced last December by Treasury Secretary Hank Paulson in which mortgage lenders agreed to freeze interest rates for certain subprime borrovers. But thanks to the Fed, high rates on adjustable-rate loans are no longer the big problem. The big problem is that a million U.S. homeowners owe more than their houses are worth; they're upside down, in the parlane, meaning that if foreclosures are to be slowed, the mortgages themselves must shrink.

Lenders often agree to loan modifications when borrowers run into trouble—

one industry group says 215,000 home loans were modified in the first five months of this year. The Dodd-Frank plan a imis to increase that number with help from the FMA. The agency would insure existing loans in which a) the lender forgives at least 10% of the debt and switches to a fixed rate and b) the borrower agrees to split any sale gains with the FMA.

This balancing act keeps the plan from being an outright bailout for either lenders or borrowers. But it also limits the likely uptake. The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) has made two estimates—one projects that 500,000 loans would be converted over the three-year life

of the program, and the other projects 400,000. If that range proves correct, the plan wouldn't cost taxpayers much; the case estimates \$729 million to \$1.7 billion, depending on the uptake. By contrast, the Defense Department spends about \$2 billion a week in Iraq.

If house prices keep falling, the cost of the program could rise—but would probably be dwarfed by other spending to combat the crisis. A worst case taxpayer bailout of mortgage-market glants Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, whose plummeting stock prices caused consternation in early lune, could cost as much as \$1.1 tfillion, according to Standard & Poors. Which brings us back to the big question: Would a law that helps a few hundred thousand homeowners awoid foreclosure really have an impact on house prices?

# The (Not So) Lunatic Fringe

They are antiwar and pro-gun, against the income tax and in favor of legalizing drugs. But the Libertarians' freedom agenda isn't kooky—it's transforming America's political landscape

BY NATHAN THORNBURGH/NYE COUNTY, NEV.

TH HIS BELLY HIDING HIS belt, with his red suspenders and white beard, Glen Parshall is a dead ringer for Santa Claus, except for the snub-nosed pistol he keeps tucked in his back pocket. Parshall spends his days behind the gun cage of Bargain Pawn, in a roughneck North Las Vegas neighborhood littered with homeless encampments. Catholic charities and pawnshops. It's no Bellagio. But he is a gentle man who treats his customers with respect, whether hoodlum or homeowner. He knows everything there is to know about weapons and is a stickler for the byzantine rules of gun ownership-the waiting periods, the background checks, the ATF callbacks and information requests.

But just because he obeys the rules doesn't mean he likes them. Parshall is dissatisfied with a lot of what government does. He hates our gun laws. Hates the war in Iraq. He doesn't use drugs, but he sees the fight against them as another government power grab. Growing up as a Mormon in Salt Lake City, Parshall was a Barry Goldwater Republican. Now he's



from the left and the right

Former Republican Congressman Bob Barr—now running for President as a Libertarian—could Naderize John McCain in a few key states the kind of voter who should scare the GOP most—and he's not alone.

Maybe you haven't heard, but this is the year of freedom. First there was the Ron Paul revolution, in which an avuncular 10-term Representative from Brazoria County, Texas, raised more than \$34 million as a pseudo-Republican candidate, garnered more than a million primary votes and outperformed Rudy Giuliani and Fred Thompson, all on the back of a getgovernment-off-my-back platform. Now there's the Libertarian Party, which sold a little bit of its hard-line liberty-loving soul in exchange for the most respectable candidate it has ever had: recently converted former Republican Congressman Bob Barr, who's polling nationally near 6% and could conceivably Naderize John McCain in a few key states and help nudge the presidency to Barack Obama.

Since 2000, Libertarian candidates have peeled off enough votes from Republican congressional candidates to cost the party races in Washington, Nevada, Montana and, most recently, Louisiana. But if anything, the Gor platform has grown more committed to foreign military intervention

Photographs for TIME by Kenneth Jarecke-Contact



and domestic moralizing. The selection of John McCain was a final insult-most libertarians view him, fairly or not, as prowar, anti-gun, pro-environmentalism and anti-free speech (thanks to his advocacy for campaign-finance reform). In Nevada, where the liberty lobby is strong, McCain got trounced in the primary voting, coming in third behind Mitt Romney and Ron Paul. When the state gor tried to crown McCain at its Reno convention in April. so many Paul supporters showed up that party leaders literally fled the hall, turned off the lights and postponed the convention to make sure the anemic pro-McCain camp wasn't swamped by liberty's marauders. It was like a John Ford western set inside a hotel ballroom.

## Land of Liberty

THE CENTRAL GOAL OF LIBERTARIANISM IS hard to disagree with: freedom. Defining it is another matter. Party members I've met often speak of freedom as if it were a phantom limb: you're born with it, but it gets taken from you by the bureaucratic violence of the EPA, the ATF, the DOE, the DEA, the U.N., NCLB, NAFTA and-above all-the IRS. Freedom's restoration is the magic moment when the nanny state melts away and you can see the life you were supposed to live before the tax auditors and environmental regulators and drug warriors all came to rope, brand and pen you in for life with their endless rulemaking and intrusions.

If the freedom that lives in the Libertarian imagination has an earthly home, it is the American West. If it has a temple, it's Nevada. It's not just the low taxes or the libertine veneer of Las Vegas. Nevada is free, I was told, in part because so much of it is populated by an unbroken and unbowed caste of ranchers, mitners and homesteaders who believe in the primacy of private property.

As you might guess, things that come between a Nevadan and his land don't sit well, and over the past decade, there's been nothing more disruptive than the environmental movement's good intentions. Nye County rancher Jim Berg, 68, doesn't call himself a Libertarian, but he thinks the gor has lost its will to keep the government from affecting his livelihood. He has plenty of war stories about his county's showdowns with the Federal Government. including a 1991 standoff when armed federales came to confiscate cattle belonging to a neighboring rancher who had let his herd graze on off-limits federal land. The Forest Service got some of Berg's cattle in the dragnet, auctioned them off and kept the proceeds. "They wanted trouble that day," he says. "Why else would you gather anoth-



er man's cattle with 25 to 30 armed men?" Just across the mountain range, the tiny town of Belmont prides itself on being beyond government control. It was a mining boomtown in its heyday, filled with Cornish and Chinese and Germans and Italians. The main street of the town, now home to just seven households, winds up a steep grade past a row of crumbling stone buildings. One of the buildings had been the local whorehouse. In the basement of another building, local legend goes, two men-union organizers-were hauled out from a mine they were hiding in and lynched. All that history is falling in on itself, but Henry Berg (yup, Jim's cousin), who owns the Belmont Inn with his wife Bertie, is fine with a little neglect. What he really fears is that the electricity will get hooked up. "We don't want power, but it will come in someday, and that will be the end of it," he says. "More people will come in, and they'll want to build a Wal-Mart."

There is a lot in the complaints in the Libertarian heartland that sounds like nostalgia for an idealized American past. Jim Berg will tell you about grazing rights grievances, but he's just as quick to lament the death of the ranching lifestyle. "My grandkids have scattered like quail," he says. "They'e all gone city."

This sense that progress has gone too far and too fast unites a large swath of Libertarians from coast to coast. To many, modernity just means having our daily lives ruled by mechanisms that have grown so complex that they are beyond comprehension or control. It's a notion that bonds anti-wro progressives and anti-UN. committee of the comprehension or control. It's a notion that bonds anti-wro progressives and anti-UN. com-

# 'We need to come back to more local control. When the government takes control of something, it goes to hell.'

-- JIM BERG, CATTLE RANCHER, NYE COUNTY, NEV.

servatives alike—and if the party has any real hope of becoming powerful, those seemingly disparate points on the political continuum will have to get closer.

It's tempting to think of Libertarianism as nothing more than old-school Republicanism, but it's always been partially left-wing, drawing from a long history of American anarchism. The modern challenge is to unite those two wings-or, as magician (and stalwart Libertarian) Penn lillette told me, "Convince the dope guys that the gun guys are O.K., and vice versa." And many Libertarians believe the time is now. It helps that the U.S. has been throttled for a century by two parties whose core differences are narrowing. The current general election has seemed at times a contest about who can crib off the other party's platform more, from McCain's enthusiasm for using government to fight global warming to Obama's hedging on warrantless wiretapping. For an electorate having a harder time distinguishing Coke from Pepsi, there's a thirst for something-anything-new.



# The Standard Bearer

"EVERYADOV IS LIBERTARIAN ABOUT SOMEthing in this country," Bob Barrold me over breakfast in midtown Manhattan recently. It's his best pitch, and fusued explanation of why the Libertarian Farty can leverage the country's many discontents. The Strongest part of his message is the delivery. Barr is as level man with a rich, assuring voice. Even level man with a rich, assuring voice. Even suit, there's something warm and tweedy about him—aperfectly calm spokesman for the often cantankerous ideas of his rarty.

His candidacy, though, is not without risks. The Libertarian Party is looking to introduce itself as an alternative to the major parties, but it has done so by poaching politicians who, like Barr, were very recently Republicans. And Barr wasn't just any Republican. He was a premier culture warrior in Congress, leading the impeachment of Bill Clinton and fighting medical marijuana, gay marriage, even the right of soldiers to practice Wicca-all of which are anathema to the out-of-our-bedrooms libertarian ideal. In fact, one of the biggest political victories of the modern Libertarian Party was to unseat Barr in 2002; it poured money into an anti-Barr campaign, ran attack ads and called him the "worst drug warrior in Congress." Another strike against Barr: he's a former CIA official and a former federal prosecutor. "To Libertarians," one of his opponents told me, "that's like being a child molester.'

Barrnow alternates between expressing contrition for his past and highlighting his post 9/11 record of fighting against federal rollbacks of civil liberties. He works with

# 'The legitimate role of government is to protect the country's territory. Much more than that doesn't seem right.'

- GLEN PARSHALL, GUN AND GOLD DEALER, NORTH LAS VEGAS

both the ACLU and the NRA and quotes Ayn Rand fluently. His platform these days is a soft libertarian diet of lower taxes, more privacy and school choice.

Barr's moderation may keep him from tapping into Ron Paul's base, which rallied around its candidate for one of the most uncompromising campaigns in recent memory. In an interview in his congressional office. Paul told me there's a reason he had so much success, particularly with younger voters. "They're idealistic. They like consistency. They like principle," he said. For a sense of his hard-line heart, consider the fact that his signal issue was the gold standardreturning to the peg the dollar used before 1971 as a bulwark against inflation and federal mismanagement. That would mean scrapping the Federal Reserve, for starters. While Barr talks about shrinking the size of government, Paul wants to tear the entire global financial system limb from limb.

Paul, who ran for President as a Libertarian in 1988, won't be telling his support ers whom to vote for. (Despite his attacks on McCain, Paul decided to stay in the Republican Party rather than mount a thirdparty run.) He has said, however, that they're free to go Libertarian or head for the Constitution Party. "Others," he said, "might be disgusted and go away," Hardly a ringing endorsement of the former Republicans leading his former party.

How much will Paul's coolness toward Barr hurt the Libertarians? The party ties et is directed by Ross Perot's old campaign manager and is already polling a respect able 6% nationwide in the latest Zogby poll—exactly the same percentage that separates McCain and Obama. Not all of Barr's voters would be McCain voters, of course, but Barr did best with conservatives (7%) and independents (rute (7%) and independents (rute (7%)).

In the end, that may not be enough to make a difference in 2008. But Barr's running mate. Wayne Allyn Root, says the party can ride a wave of new followers into the next election cycle. Just three years ago, after all, he wrote a book called Milionair Republicans Why Rich Republicans Get Rich—and How You Can Toel If he can convert, he says, anyone can.

Visited Root at his suburhan Las Vegas home back in May He is certainly well off, having built a sports handicapping built a sports handicapping business that he sayle dhim to polities. (The Founding Fathers "loved gambling," he sayle But politics isn't his onlities isn't his onlities isn't his onlities isn't his onlities isn't his only passion. Before we could begin talking about the Libertarian Partly, he started selling men on his lifestyle. He takes no ovitamin supplements every day. He and his kids never drink cow's milk, just rice milk and spring water." I meditate, exercise, pray and do yoga every day." he says. "If I had a staff of so, they couldn't do the work 162".

All that bluster makes him seem more like a telemarketer or talk-show host than a politician, and he tells me he'd at least like to get a nationally syndicated radio show out of this presidential campaign. It would be a mistake, though, to write Root off. The things he cares about-being able to gamble legally via his home computer, continuing to homeschool his kids without much interference, keeping taxes low-speak to a lot of Americans. If the old party was cobbled together from hard-line strains of voluntarianism, propertarianism and paleolibertarianism, the new Libertarian Party is more likely to build off Root's take, which is essentially suburbanarianism.

And if that happens, voters alienated by our calcified party system may find in the Libertarians a party that's a lot like Glen Parshall—armed to the teeth but without gentle logic and a contagious enthusiasm for freedom in all its forms. Libertarians are getting ready for the mainstream, and mainstream America may finally be ready for them.



CAMPAIGN '08 | OBAMA

# Caught in the Middle. Why Obama's centrist shift is turning off his truest believers

BY IAY NEWTON-SMALL AND MICHAEL SCHERER

THE PROBLEM WITH A PEOPLE POWERED movement is that eventually the people want a say, John Rosinski, an engineer in Orlando, Fla., always believed in the youcentered philosophy of Barack Obama's campaign. So he and more than 22,000 other supporters who banded together on Obama's website were furious when the Illinois Senator, despite their petition, voted July o for a bill that would allow the Bush Administration to continue its program of wiretapping without warrants, a measure Obama once swore he would filibuster. To Rosinski, that's apostasy, "I really don't know right now if I'll vote for him," Rosinski says. "He is just continuing politics as usual, becoming like any other politician."

In his transition from upstart candidate to presumptive nominee, Obama has, to some of his once ardent fans, come to look dangerously like the ingratiating Washington politicians he so often rails against. Worried about his patriotism? He now wears a flag pin daily. Uneasy about his church? He left it. Too liberal? Just look at his recent policy statements endorsing gun rights, calling for trade talks and supporting restrictions on late term abortion.

Such tactical shifts to the center are a general-election ritual for Democratic presidential candidates, a pre-emptive defense against the Republican attack machine. But Obama isn't like other candidates. In his 2006 best seller, The Audacity of Hope, Obama wrote of himself, "I serve as a blank screen on which people of vastly different political stripes project their own views." So as his pragmatic side fills that screen, those loyal foot soldiers who got used to seeing their own reflections are beginning to cry betrayal. The people in

Plotting a course As Obama courts the middle. he risks appearing like a typical politician

Obama's movement feel they have an open line directly to him, and these days many want their objections heeded, "It's a wakeup call on how much wiggle room he has," says presidential scholar Stephen Hess.

The rumblings of liberal discontent began last month, after Obama came out in favor of the Supreme Court's decision striking down Washington's handgun ban. That was followed by a press conference in which he appeared to backtrack on his commitment to a speedy withdrawal from Iraq and by a speech to an Ohio ministry in which he pledged to expand George W. Bush's faith-based-initiative program. In an interview with FORTUNE, he said his critique of free trade during the primaries was "overheated and amplified." By the time Obama voted for the wiretapping bill, Rosinski and his fellow rebels had become the largest group on the Senator's website. Being accused of flip-flopping by the

Republicans is routine; infuriating the faithful is risky business. Obama denies that he's sacrificing principle to appeal to moderates, "Don't assume that if I don't agree with you on something that it must be because I'm doing that politically," he told an audience in Powder Springs, Ga., on July 8, "I may just disagree with you," It's true that some of Obama's "shifts" have been more about a change in emphasis than in policy. On Iraq, for example, Obama has long said, "We have to be as careful getting out as we were careless getting in." The difference now is that he's emphasizing careful as much as aetting out.

And yet the Obama camp knows it can't ignore the liberal outcry. That's why Ohama posted his own response to critics of his wiretapping stand and the campaign set up a forum with three policy advisers to field questions about it. That has helped soothe some on the left. "We may disagree with him on an issue, [but] he is not going to shut down discussion, and he is not going to hide like George W. Bush," says Markos Moulitsas Zuniga, founder of the liberal blog Daily Kos. Obama is counting on disappointed liberals to be as pragmatic as they are passionate. They may no longer like everything they see when they look at him. But they'll vote for him anyway. -WITH REPORTING BY MAYA CURRY

SHIFTING POSITIONS Obama has beaun the timehonored revackaging of his primary messages for November

V Then V Now

Foreign surveillance He earlier opposed forgiving companies involved in phone taps, then voted to grant them immunity

Iraq Once focused on leaving Iraq in 16 months, he now talks more about taking events on the ground into account

Abortion He recently qualified his pro-choice stand, savina "feeling blue" wasn't reason enough for late-term abortions





Michelle needed CPR in September.



Luckily, Alberto took





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WORLD

# Mandela

# **His 8 Lessons of Leadership**

As he celebrates his 90th birthday, the world's greatest moral leader reflects on a lifetime of service—and what the rest of us can learn from it

BY RICHARD STENGEL

ELSON MANDELA HAS ALWAYS FELT MOST AT ease around children, and in some ways his greatest deprivation was that he spent 27 years without hearing a baby cry or holding a child's hand. Last month, when I visited Mandela in used to know—his first instinct was to spread his arms to my two boys. Within seconds they were hugging the friendly old man who asked them what sports they liked to play and what they'd had for breakfast. While we talked, he held my son Gabriel, whose complicated middle name is Rolihahla, Nelson Mandela's real first name. He told Gabriel he story of that name, how in Nhosa it translates as "pulling down the branch of a tree" but that its real meaning is "troublemaker."

As he celebrates his 90th birthday next week, Nelson Mandela has made enough trouble for several lifetimes: He liberated a country from a system of violent prejudice and helped unite white and black, oppressor and oppressed, in a way that had never been done before. In the 1990s I worked with Mandela for almost two years on his autobiography. Long Walk to Freedom. After all that time spent in his company, I felt a terrible sense of withdrawal when the book was done; it was like the sun going out of one's life. We have seen each other occasionally lover the years, but I wanted to make what might be a final visit and have my sons meet him one more time.

I also wanted to talk to him about leadership. Mandela is the closest thing the world has to a secular saint, but he would be the first to admit that he is something far more pedestrian: a politician. He overthrew apartheid and cre-



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managing editor
Richard Stengel
narrate a slide
show about how
Mandela inspires
us, go to time
.com/mandela

**Cry freedom** Mandela's raised fist has become an enduring symbol for millions in the struggle against injustice and oppression

Mandela is no longer comfortable with inquiries or favors. He's fearful that he may not be able to summon what people expect when they visit a living deity, and vain enough to care that they not think him diminished. But the world has never needed Mandela's gifts-as a tactician, as an activist and, yes, as a politician-more, as he showed again in London on June 25, when he rose to condemn the savagery of Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe. As we enter the main stretch of a historic presidential campaign in America, there is much that he can teach the two candidates. I've always thought of what you are about to read as Madiba's Rules (Madiba, his clan name, is what everyone close to him calls him). and they are cobbled together from our conversations old and new and from observing him up close and from afar. They are mostly practical. Many of them stem directly from his personal experience. All of them are calibrated to cause the best kind of trouble: the trouble that forces us to ask how we can make the world a better place.

# No. 1 Courage is not the absence of fear-it's inspiring others to move beyond it

IN 1994, DURING THE PRESIDENTIALelection campaign, Mandela got on a tiny propeller plane to fly down to the killing fields of Natal and give a speech to his Zulu supporters. I agreed to meet him at the airport, where we would continue our work after his speech. When the plane was 20 minutes from landing, one of its engines failed. Some on the plane began to panic. The only thing that calmed them was looking at Mandela, who quietly read his newspaper as if he were a commuter on his morning train to the office. The airport prepared for an emergency landing, and the pilot managed to land the plane safely. When Mandela and I got in the backseat of his bulletproof BMW that would take us to the rally, he turned to me and said. "Man, I was terrified up there!"

Mandela was often afraid during his time underground, during the Rivonia trial that led to his imprisonment, during his time on Robben Island. "Of course I was afraid!" he would tell me later. It

# Mandela's rules are calibrated to cause the kind of trouble that forces us to ask how we can make the world a better place

would have been irrational, he suggested, not to be. "I can't pretend that I'm brave and that I can beat the whole world." But as a leader, you cannot let people know. "You must put up a front."

And that's precisely what he learned to do: pretend and, through the act of appearing fearless, inspire others. It was a pantomime Mandela perfected on Robben Island, where there was much to fear. Prisoners who were with him said watching Mandela walk across the courtvard. upright and proud, was enough to keep them going for days. He knew that he was a model for others, and that gave him the strength to triumph over his own fear.

# No. 2

# Lead from the front-but don't leave your base behind

MANDELA IS CAGEY, IN 1985 HE WAS OPERated on for an enlarged prostate. When he was returned to prison, he was separated from his colleagues and friends for the first time in 21 years. They protested. But as his longtime friend Ahmed Kathrada recalls, he said to them, "Wait a minute, chaps. Some good may come of this."

The good that came of it was that Mandela on his own launched negotiations with the apartheid government. This was anathema to the African National Congress (ANC). After decades of saving "prisoners cannot negotiate" and after advocating an armed struggle that would bring the government to its knees, he decided that the time was right to begin to talk to his oppressors.

When he initiated his negotiations with the government in 1985, there were many who thought he had lost it. "We thought he was selling out," says Cyril Ramaphosa, then the powerful and fiery leader of the National Union of Mineworkers. "I went to see him to tell him, What are you doing? It was an unbelievable initiative. He took a massive risk.'

Mandela launched a campaign to persuade the ANC that his was the correct course. His reputation was on the line. He went to each of his comrades in prison. The icon Though he has retreated from the public stage, the 90-year-old still speaks out, as he did in condemnina Zimbabwe's Muaabe

Kathrada remembers, and explained what he was doing. Slowly and deliberately, he brought them along. "You take your support base along with you," says Ramaphosa, who was secretary-general of the ANC and is now a business mogul. "Once you arrive at the beachhead, then you allow the people to move on. He's not a bubblegum leader-chew it now and throw it away."

For Mandela, refusing to negotiate was about tactics, not principles. Throughout his life, he has always made that distinction. His unwavering principle-the overthrow of apartheid and the achievement of one man, one vote-was immutable, but almost anything that helped him get to that goal he regarded as a tactic. He is the most pragmatic of idealists.

"He's a historical man," says Ramaphosa. "He was thinking way ahead of us. He has posterity in mind: How will they view what we've done?" Prison gave him the ability to take the long view. It had to; there was no other view possible. He was thinking in terms of not days and weeks but decades. He knew history was on his side, that the result was inevitable; it was just a question of how soon and how it would be achieved. "Things will be better in the long run," he sometimes said. He always played for the long run.

# No. 3 Lead from the back-and let others believe they are in front

MANDELA LOVED TO REMINISCE ABOUT HIS boyhood and his lazy afternoons herding cattle. "You know," he would say, "you can only lead them from behind." He would then raise his eyebrows to make sure I got the analogy.

As a boy, Mandela was greatly influenced by longintaba, the tribal king who raised him. When longintaba had meetings of his court, the men gathered in a circle, and only after all had spoken did



# WORLD | MANDELA

the king begin to speak. The chief's job, Mandela said, was not to tell people what to do but to form a consensus. "Don't enter the debate too early," he used to say.

During the time I worked with Mandela, he often called meetings of his kitchen cabinet at his home in Houghton, a lovely old suburb of Johannesburg. He would gather half a dozen men, Ramaphosa, Thabo Mbeki (who is now the South African President) and others around the dining-room table or sometimes in a circle in his driveway. Some of his colleagues would shout at him-to move faster, to be more radical-and Mandela would simply listen. When he finally did speak at those meetings, he slowly and methodically summarized everyone's points of view and then unfurled his own thoughts, subtly steering the decision in the direction he wanted without imposing it. The trick of leadership is allowing yourself to be led too. "It is wise," he said, "to persuade people to do things and make them think it was their own idea."

# No. 4

## Know your enemy-and learn about his favorite sport

AS FAR BACK AS THE 1960S, MANDELA began studying Afrikaans, the language of the white South Africans who created apartheid. His comrades in the ANC teased

193

him about it, but he wanted to understand the Afrikaner's worldview: he knew that one day he would be fighting them or negotiating with them, and either way, his destiny was tied to theirs.

This was strategic in two senses: by speaking his opponents' language, he might understand their strengths and weaknesses and formulate tactics accordingly. But he would also be ingratiating himself with his enemy. Everyone from ordinary jailers to P.W. Botha was impressed by Mandela's willingness to speak Afrikaans and his knowledge of Afrikaner history. He even brushed up on his knowledge of rugby, the Afrikaners' beloved sport, so he would be able to compare notes on teams and players.

Mandela understood that blacks and Afrikaners had something fundamental in common: Afrikaners believed themselves to be Africans as deeply as blacks did. He knew, too, that Afrikaners had been the victims of prejudice themselves: the British government and the white English settlers looked down on them. Afrikaners suffered from a cultural inferiority complex almost as much as blacks did.

Mandela was a lawyer, and in prison he helped the warders with their legal problems. They were far less educated and worldly than he, and it was extraordinary to them that a black man was willing and able to help them. These were "the most ruthless and brutal of the apartheid regime's characters," says Allister Sparks, the great South African historian, and he "realized that even the worst and crudest could be negotiated with."

# No. 5

#### Keep your friends close-and your rivals even closer

MANY OF THE GUESTS MANDELA INVITED to the house he built in Qunu were people whom, he intimated to me, he did not wholly trust. He had them to dinner: he called to consult with them; he flattered them and gave them gifts. Mandela is a man of invincible charm-and he has often used that charm to even greater effect on his rivals than on his allies.

On Robben Island, Mandela would always include in his brain trust men he neither liked nor relied on. One person he became close to was Chris Hani, the fiery chief of staff of the ANC's military wing. There were some who thought Hani was conspiring against Mandela, but Mandela cozied up to him. "It wasn't just Hani," says Ramaphosa, "It was also the big industrialists, the mining families, the opposition. He would pick up the phone and call them on their birthdays. He would go to family funerals. He saw it as an opportunity." When Mandela emerged from prison, he famously included his jailers among his

### 1918

Born Rollhlahla Dalibhunga Mandela in the tribal village Mvezo. on the Eastern Cape

1952

His father dies, leaving Mandela's education and care in hands of the Tembu clan chief

# **Personal Path**

# 1920 Political Life

Co-founds the Youth League of the ANC

Campaign for the Deflance of Unjust Laws begins with Mandela as chief volunteer; he's elected president of the Transvaal ANC and is temporarily banned from politics for the first time. He

law firm in Johannesburg



Shown here at 19. Mandela graduates from high school at Healdtown and enrolls in South African Native College of Fort Hare

#### 1944 Marries first wife Evelyn Mase, whom he divorces in 1957

1950



# 195R

Marries Winnie Madikizela, who spends the next three decades fighting for his release and against apartheid. They divorce in 1996

Writes his famous words "The struggle is my life. I will continue to fight for freedom until the end of my days."

# 1970

# Targeted by the

apartheid regime for his political activities, he is arrested after 17 months on the run

# 1964 Convicted of

sabotage and treason and sentenced to life in prison



## 1973 The government offers to release him to Transkei, a he declines. Authorities in

free black area; 1985 again offer freedom if he forswears violence, but he again refuses



1980

# Mandela believed that his rivals were more dangerous on their own than within his circle of influence

friends and put leaders who had kept him in prison in his first Cabinet. Yet I well knew that he despised some of these men.

There were times he washed his hands of people—and times when, like so many people of great charm, he allowed himself to be charmed. Mandela initially developed a quick rapport with South African President EW. de Klerk, which is why he later felt so betrayed when De Klerk attacked him in public.

Mandela believed that embracing his rivals was a way of controlling them: they were more dangerous on their own than within his circle of influence. He cherished loyalty, but he was never obsessed by it. After all, he used to say, "people act in their own interest." It was simply a fact of human nature, not a flaw or a defect. The flipside of being an optimist—and he is one—jst trusting people too much. But

Mandela recognized that the way to deal with those he didn't trust was to neutralize them with charm.

# No. 6

## Appearances matter—and remember to smile

WHEN MANDELA WAS A POOR LAW STUdent in Johannesburg wearing his one threadbare suit, he was taken to see Walter Sisulu. Sisulu was a real estate agent and a young leader of the Anc. Mandela saw a sophisticated and successful black man whom he could emulate. Sisulu saw the future.

Sisulu once told me that his great quest in the 1950s was to turn the ANC into a mass movement; and then one day, he recalled with a smile, "a mass leader walked into my office." Mandela was tall and handsome, an amateur boxer who carried himself with the regal air of a chief's son. And he had a smile that was like the sun coming out on a cloudy day.

relation between leadership and physicality. George Washington was the tallest and probably the strongest man in every room he entered. Size and strength have more to do with DNA than with leadership manuals, but Mandela understood how his appearance could advance his cause. As leader of the ANC's underground military wing, he insisted that he be photographed in the proper fatigues and with a beard, and throughout his career he has been concerned about dressing appropriately for his position. George Bizos, his lawyer, remembers that he first met Mandela at an Indian tailor's shop in the 1950s and that Mandela was the first black South African he had ever seen being fitted for a suit. Now Mandela's uniform is a series of exuberantprint shirts that declare him the joyous grandfather of modern Africa. When Mandela was running for the

presidency in 1994, he knew that symbols mattered as much as substance. He was never a great public speaker, and people often tuned out what he was saying after the first few minutes. But it was the icongraphy that people understood. When he was on a platform, he would always do the togit-point, the township dance that

#### 1998 Marries, on his

Roth birthday, Graça Machel, an activist and widow of Mozambique's founding President

#### 2005 Challenging taboo.

reveals that his elder son Makgatho has died of AIDS



1990 200

## 1986

Foreign sanctions tighten against South Africa, which loses an estimated \$4 billion over two years

# 1990 F.W. de Klerk releases Mandela from prison

Mandela and De Klerk are awarded the Nobel Peace Prize

# which loses an ited \$4 billion wo years Mandela elected

Mandela elected President, with De Klerk as deputy and the ANC controlling the National Assembly. He leaves office in 1999 2000

Appointed mediator of the civil war in Burundi





Purging the ghost Shortly before winning South Africa's presidency in 1994, Mandela visited his old prison cell on Robben Island

was always, What is the end that I seek, and what is the most practical way to get there?

# No. 8 Quitting is leading too

IN 1993, MANDELA ASKED ME IF I KNEW of any countries where the minimum voting age was under 18. I did some research and presented him with a rather undistinguished list: Indonesia, Cuba, Nicaragua, North Korea and Iran. He nodded and uttered his highest praise: "Very good, very good," Two weeks later, Mandela went on South African television and proposed that the voting age be lowered to 14, "He tried to sell us the idea," recalls Ramaphosa, "but he was the only (supporter). And he had to face the reality that it would not win the day. He accepted it with great humility. He doesn't sulk. That was also a lesson in leadership."

Knowing how to abandon a failed idea, task or relationship is often the most difficult kind of decision a leader has to make. In many ways, Mandela's greatest legacy as President of South Africa is the way he chose to leave it. When he was elected in 1994, Mandela probably could have pressed to be President for life—and there were many who felt that in return for his years in prison, that was the least South Africa could da Africa could da Africa could da Africa could do The and the country of the south of

In the history of Africa, there have been only a handful of democratically elected leaders who willingly stood down from of fice. Mandela was determined to set a pedent for all who followed him—not only in South Africa but across the rest of the continent. He would be the nati-Mugalee, the man who gave birth to his country and refused to hold it hostage. "His job was to set the course," says Ramaphosa, "not to set the story." He knows that leaders lead as much by what they choose not to do as

what they do.

Ultimately, the key to understanding Mandela is those 27 years in prison. The man who walked onto Robben Island in 1964, was emotional, headstrong, easily stung. The man who emerged was balanced and disciplined. He is not and never has been introspective. Joten asked him how the man who emerged from prison differed from the willful young man who had entered it. He hated this question. Finally, in exasperation one day, he said, "I came out mature." There is nothing so rare—or so valuable—as a mature man happy birthday, Madiba.

was an emblem of the struggle. But more important was that dazzling, bestific, all-inclusive smile. For white South Africans, the smile symbolized Mandela's lack of bitterness and suggested that he was sympathetic to them. To black voters, it said, I am the happy warrior, and we will triumph. The ubliquitious ance election poster was simply his smiling face. "The smile," saves Ramanboad." was the message."

After he emerged from prison, people would say, over and over, It is amazing that he is not bitter. There are a thousand things Nelson Mandela was bitter about, but he knew that more than anything else, he had to project the exact opposite emotion. He always said, "Forget the past"—but I knew he never did.

# No. 7 Nothing is black or white

WHEN WE BEAN OUR SERIES OF INTERviews, I would often ask Mandela questions like this one: When you decided to suspend the armed struggle, was it is cause you realized you did not have the strength to overthrow the government or because you knew you could win over international opinion by choosing nowiclence? He would then give me a curious glance and say, "Why not both?"

I did start asking smarter questions, but the message was clear: Life is never eitherior. Decisions are complex, and there are always competing factors. To look for simple explanations is the bias of the human brain, but it doesn't correspond to reality. Nothing is ever as straightforward as it appears.

Mandela is comfortable with contradiction. As a politican, he was a pragmatist who saw the world as infinitely nuanced. Much of this, I believe, came from living as a black man under an apartheid system that offered a daily regimen of excruciating and debilitating moral choices. Do I defer to the white boss to get the job I want and avoid a punishmen? Do I carry my pass?

As a statesman, Mandela was uncommonly loyal to Muammar Gaddafi and Fidel Castro. They had helped the Asc when the U.S. still banded Mandela as a terrorist. When I asked him about Gaddafi and Castro, he suggested that Americans tend to see things in black and white, and he would upbraid me for my lack of muase. Every problem has many causes. While he was indisputably and clearly against apartheid, the causes of apartheid were complex. They were historical, sociologic al and psychological. Mandels'a calculus

The key to Mandela is those prison years. He went in emotional and headstrong and emerged balanced and disciplined

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HENRY R. LUCE, FOUNDING PUBLISHER OF FORTUNE MAGAZINE



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# The Master Of Memes

"moot" is the founder of 4chan, one of the largest communities on the Web. It's a profane, scary place. It's also the secret wellspring of Internet culture

BY LEV GROSSMAN

MOOT DOESN'T GIVE OUT MUCH IN THE way of personal info.l don't even know his real name. He's 20 years old and skinny; he could pass for 16. He grew up in Nor York City and is currently in college somewhere. He is pleasant and very serious. "When people meet me and I'm generally pretty sociable and I meet some definition of normal, they're almost surprised." he says. "And simultaneously disappointed." We talk in a coffee shop in downtown Manhattan. He orders a lemonade.

mootis the founder of an online community called channous You may not realize it, but a chan has probably touched your life. Possibly inappropriately, 4chan is unusual in several ways. It's extremely large and active; it gets 85, million page views a day and 3, million visitors a month. Since moot started it in 2003, those visitors have put up 14, smillion posts. By some metrics, achan is the fourth largest bullet in board on the Net.

4chan is also very profane. A phrase from Star Worsomesto mindi I'lsa wretch ed hive of seum and villainy. Spammers don't even bother to spam 4chan; Google started searching it only six months ago. But it is the wellspring from which a lot of internet culture, and hence popular culture, bubbles. In his way, moot is one of the most powerful people on the Well.

moot founded 4chan when he was 15 as a space where he and his firends could talk about manga and anime; it's based on a popular Japanese site called 4channel. Like 2channel. 4chan is an imageboard; you're supposed to post pictures—nasphots; found images, original artwork, altered or adéfaced photos—Talber than words, 4chan 16 divided into 43 different boards, ranging from video games to original to food to "random." The most popular board on 4chan, by fair, is random.

There are few rules on 4chan. Child pornography is off limits, but not much else is. Unlike most boards, 4chan doesn't require posters to register, which means they can post anonymously, which leads to a lot of uninhibited behavior. If you're looking for obscenity, blasphemy, homophobia, misogyny and racial insults, you don't have to dig too deep. Shortly after midnight on Sept. 11, 2007, a teenager in Pflugerville, Texas, posted a photo of some pipe bombs and announced that he was going to shoot up his school in the morning. A reader in Arizona called the Pflugerville police, who arrested the teenager. (So that's another thing that's against the rules.)

You can see why moot keeps his real name to himself. "My personal private life is very separate from my Internet life," he says. "There's a firewall in between."

Like a lot of unsanitary places, 4chan is gloriously fertile. What grows there is memes—ideas and jokes and fads that spread across the Net. Here's an example: there used to be a tradition on a chan that every Saturday people would post pictures of cats. It was called Caturday. People added captions representing what the cat would say if cats could talk. One day somebody posted a shot of a fat gray cat looking at the camera and saying, "I CAN HAS CHEEREMENGER?"

'When people meet me and I meet some definition of normal, they're almost surprised. And simultaneously disappointed.'

-MOOT, FOUNDER OF 4CHAN

Somehow that picture escaped 4chan onto the wider Web. Without knowing where it came from, somebody saw it and liked it enough to start a blog about it: icanhascheebunger.com. Soon other people were making their own Caturdaystyle pictures and calling them "lotasts". Now you can buy lolcat Tshirts and lolcat buttons and lokat fridge magnets. Last September investors bought kanhascheebunger.com for about 52 million.

Coarse as it is, 4chan has no rival as a hottouse for memes; they're bred and refined, and then they can escape and run amuck through the culture at large. For better or for worse, this is what the counterculture looks like today: raw, sarcastic, bare of any social or political agenda but frequently funny as hell.

moot doesn't see any of that sweet loleat money, by the way. Not that he's bitter. He has met the owners of icanhascheezburger.com. "They seem like nice people," he says. "You can't blame them for taking something and capitalizing on it, I don't." But he's barely covering costs. most runs ads on 4chan, but the site needs massive amounts of bandwidth, and corporations are leery of associating their products with 4chan's content. "It's been a pretty uphill battle getting advertisers to take useriously and appreciate the community and the power it wields." he says.

But if 4chan's memes can cross into the mainstream, maybe moot can too. This year he spoke at conferences at Yale and MIT. He's even ready to reveal his real name. It's Christopher Poole, he tells me. He wouldn't be above cashing out for the right price, which is \$580 million, which is what Rupert Murdoch's News Corp. paid for MySpace in 2005, "It try to work Murdoch into any interview I give," he says. "Rupert Murdoch'? mod@acknown."



# Cricket, Texas-Style. A high roller says cash and splash will make the game play in the U.S.A.

BY BORRY GHOSH



FOR THE FEW AMERICANS WHO'VE HEARD of it, cricket conjures up images of fastidious Englishmen in white outfits who scarely break aswel during "lest" matches that stretch overfive days—with regular breaks for teal But the newest format of the game, known as Twentyzo, is shorter than a Major League Baseball game, as fiercely contested as a National Hockey League match and between teams dressed more colorfully than the Los Angeles Lakers. For the spectators, there is rousing music between plays. . and cheerleaders!

The only way the sport could be more American is if a big Texas tycoon were bankrolling it. Oh, have you met Allen Stanford? The wealth-management billionaire from Mexia, Texas, is forking out \$20 million in prize money for a single winner-take-all game in his adopted home of Antigua on Nov. 1. It is far and away the largest purse for any team sport, and Stanford, 58, is betting the match will attract a TV audience of 700 million. His primary motivation is to revive cricket's fading fortunes in the Caribbean, but he's also hoping it will stir up interest in the final frontier: the U.S. His countrymen, Stanford says, "are going to see a form of cricket they can completely identify with."

See if you can identify with this. Twentyso features two 1.man teams, and each has 20 "overs"—comprising six "balls," or pitches—in which to score runs. Batters are encouraged to swing for the fences. Hit one out—and on a cricket world, you can hit in any direction—and it's worth six runs. The team with the most runs wins. O.K., it's more complicated



Game on Stanford, top, is promoting the high-adrenaline Twenty20 format of cricket, above

# Twenty20 cricket is U.S.-friendly; games rarely last beyond three hours, and there's lots of scoring

than that, but not by much. Purists snift casily digested by neophytes. Last January. Stanford spent \$3,5 million to test-market the sport in Fort Collins, Colo, using billiboards and bus-stop ads to persuade the town's 130,000 residents to watch a telecast of a Twenty20 tournament in the Caribbean. On the basis of that experiment, Stanford believes an American

0

Know the Score
For more photos of Twenty20
cricket, go to time.com/cricket

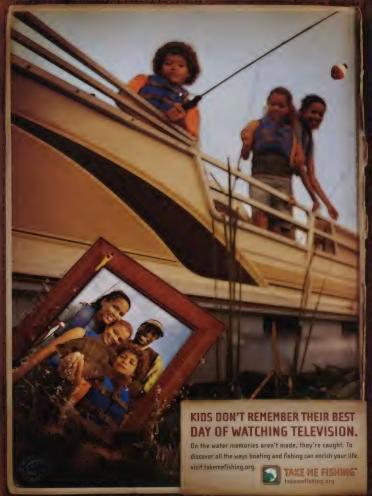
viewer can "understand Twenty20 in as little as 20 minutes."

Stanford, who fell in love with cricket when he moved to Antigua in the 1980s, radiates the enthusiasm of a convert. His eyes light up and his hands flail as he reenacts a favorite moment from a recent game-even though he lapses into baseball lingo (line drives and home runs) to describe the play. He lovingly describes the new cricket stadium he has built in Antigua, complete with an American-style hall of fame. He revels in dropping the names of Caribbean cricket stars he now counts as his friends. But his spending on Twenty20 is not just a rich fan's self-indulgence: he says the sport is the perfect vehicle for the Stanford brand name, allowing him to expand his business to new markets.

He isn't alone in believing Twentyzocan greatly extend cricket's reach. "It's a format that gives us the potential for the game to become a genuinely global spot says Peter Young, general manager of public affairs at Cricket Australia. But not everybody agrees that Stanford's plam—he aims to host an annual big-money game for the next five years—is the smartest way to promote the sport. The big spending, say critics, makes for good publicity but not necessarily good businessity good businessity

The two teams squaring off on Nov. I—England and a team of Carlibbe an All Stars—are hardly big draws. The sport's heavies thitters are in India and Pakiestan, which have giant home markets and powerful teams. Outside of the Indian subcontinent, cricket's strongest franchise is Australia, which dominates test cricket and other forms of the sport. With no Indians, Pakistanis or Australias on display in Antiqua, it will be a bit like having the Minnesota Twins and the Pittsburgh Pirates play for baseball's largest purse great for their fans, but who cles would bother to watch?

Stanford is betting that the absence of stars will be offset by the sher curiosity generated by the oversize prize and by new audiences, like Americans and Chinese, who won't miss the stars. And ultimately, he's counting on Twentyzo's purest qualities. "People are going to fall in lowe with this game—you'll see," he says. "In oyears, this could be the world's biggest sport, bigger than soccer." So he's prone to a little hyperbole. But what's more American than overkill? —with REPORTING BY INOTE HOUTTAN/NEW DELHI AND DANIER WILLIAMS/STONE





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AN AMERICAN REVOLUTION













find that didn't include plastic. "I went in and barely bought anything," Haegele says. She did purchase some canned food and a carton of milk—only to discover later that both containers were lined with plastic resin. "Plastic," she says, "just seemed like it was in everythine."

She's right. Back when Dustin Hoffman received the most famous one-word piece of career advice in cinema history. plastic was well on its way to becoming a staple of American life. The U.S. produced 28 million tons of plastic waste in 2005-27 million tons of which ended up in landfills. Our food and water come wrapped in plastic. It's used in our phones and our computers, the cars we drive and the planes we ride in. But the infinitely adaptable substance has its dark side. Enneeded to make it. Parents worry about the possibility of toxic chemicals making their way from household plastic into children's bloodstreams. Which means Haegele isn't the only person trying to cut plastic out of her life-she isn't even the only one blogging about this kind of endeavor. But those who've tried know it's far from easy to go plastic-free. "These things are so ubiquitous that it is practically impossible to avoid coming into contact with them," says Frederick vom Saal, a biologist at the University of Missouri.

Vom Saal is a prominent member of a group of researchers who have raised worrisome questions in recent years about the safety of some common types of plastics. We think of plastic as essentially inert: after all, it takes hundreds of years for a plastic bottle to degrade in a landfill. But as plastic ages or is exposed to heat or stress, it can release trace amounts of some of its ingredients. Of particular concern these days are bisphenol-a (BPA), used to strengthen some plastics, and phthalates, used to soften others. Each ingredient is a part of hundreds of household items; BPA is in everything from baby bottles to can linings (to protect against E. coli and botulism), while phthalates are found in children's toys as well as vinyl shower curtains. And those chemicals can get inside us through the food, water and bits of dust we consume or even by being absorbed through our skin. Indeed, the Centers for Disease Control and age 6 or older test positive for BPA-a sign of just how common the chemical is in our plastic universe.

Scientists like yom Saal argue that BPA and phthalates are different from other environmental toxins like lead and mercury in that these plastic ingredients are endocrine disrupters, which mimic hormones. Estrogen and other hormones in

# One Word: Concern.

Researchers are learning that chemicals commonly used in plastics can pass into the human body



# Bisphenol-a (BPA)

Used to strengthen polycarbonate plastics WHAT IT DOES: Animal studies suggest exposure can lead to reproductive issues WHERE IT'S FOUND: Lining in canned foods; water and baby bottles; plastic utensils



## Phthalates Used to soften plastics

WHAT THEY DO: Some studies link lowdose exposure with reduced sperm count WHERE THEY'RE FOUND: Some plastic toys, vinyl shower curtains; cosmetics; perfume



Used as a flame retardant

WHAT IT DOES: Small amounts of the chemical can escape into the air; animal studies show a negative neurological impact

WHERE IT'S FOUND: wires and cables; plastic casings of TVs and computers

relatively tiny amounts can cause vast changes, so some researchers worry that wa and phthalates could do the same, especially in young children. Animal studies on sax found that low-dose exposure, particularly during pregnancy, may be associated with a variety of Ills, including cancer and reproductive problems. Sould human studies on phthalates linked exposure to declining sperm quality in adult males, while other work has found that early puberty in girls may be associated with the chemicals.

Does that meaneven today's minuscule exposure levels are too much? The science is still murky, and human studies are few and far from definitive. So while Canada and the Democratic Republic of Wal-Mart are moving to han BPA in baby bottles, the Food and Drug Administration maintains that BPA products pose no danger, as does the European Union. Even so, scientists like Mel Suffet, a professor of environmental-health sciences at the University of California, Los Angeles, say avoiding certain kinds of plastics is simply being better safe than sorry.

As researchers continue to examine plastic's impact on our bodies, there's no doubt that cutting down on the material will help the environment. Plastic makes up nearly 12% of our trash, up from 1% in 1960. You can literally see the result 1,000 miles (1,000 km) west of San Prancisco in the Great Pacific Garbage Patch, a swirling mass of plastic debrix twice the size of Iexas. The rising cost of petroleum may get plastic manufacturers to come up with incentives for recycling; current rates stand at less than 6% in the U.S. But the best way to reduce your plastic impact on the earth is simply to use less.

Here's how. You can avoid plastic bottles and toys labeled with the numbers 3 or 7, which often contain BPA or phthalates, and steer clear of vinyl shower curtains and canned foods-especially those with acidic contents like tomatoes. Vom Saal counsels that the cautious should also avoid heating plastic in microwaves. But get rid of the stuff altogether? "It's hard to go all the way," says Haegele, who, 10 months into her experiment, is leading a mostly plastic-free life. Although she still uses a plastic toothbrush, she's experimented with her own toothpaste (made of baking soda, cinnamon and vodka; for the recipe, go to her blog, lifelessplastic.blogspot. com). She has used vinegar for conditioner and is searching for a decent shampoo that doesn't come in a plastic bottle. She has tried soaplike bars of shampoo, but they make her hair feel sticky. Plus, they sometimes come wrapped in-you guessed it-plastic.



# THE PROCESS

1 The club installs a bouncing floor made of springs and power-generating blocks

② The blocks are made of crystals that produce is small electrical current when compressed S As dancers move up and down, squeezing the crystals, current is fed into the batteries The moving floor recharges the batteries, which are used to power parts of the club

# TECHNOLOGY

# **Powering Up the Electric Slide.** A new dance floor in London is designed

to harness the energy of pounding fee

# BY KIMBERLEY MCLEOD

YES, IT'S A CHEESY SLOGAN: "ALL YOU have to do is dance to save the world." But Club4Climate's silly-sounding premise-that partygoers can groove their way to a greener planet-is based on real science. The environmental group, founded by British real estate mogul Andrew Charalambous, is set to open what is being touted as the world's first eco-club on July 10 in London. And as the dancers get pumped up, Club Surva will get powered up. Literally, The dance floor is designed to harness the energy of the people stomping on it based on a principle called piezoelectricity, Piezo, Greek for pressure, uses crystals or other materials that, when compressed, give off a small amount of voltage. So as clubbers dance on the spring-lined floor, the crystal blocks beneath it acquire a charge and generate a current that can charge nearby batteries.

Charalambous, the owner of Club Surya, calls the human body the "ultimate energy battery." His dance floor appears to be the first commercial application to use piezoelectricity on such a large scale—a separate group has been trying to work out the kinks for a similar eco-club in the Netherlands—but the technology isn't new. Piezoelectricity was used in early somar devices in World War I and can be found in electric cigarette lighters and some gas grills.

Scientists, however, are skeptical of Charalambous' claims that the dance floor may be able to generate up to 60% of the club's electricity. "That level of power surprises me," says. Fric Cross, an expert on piezoelectric materials at Penn State University. According to Cross, the required materials are stiff, but if enough people are moving at the samet time, he surmises, it's possible that that much energy could be produced. The rest of the electricity at Surya—Sanskrif for 'sun god'—will come from solar panels and wind turbines.

The club has lots of other eco-bells and whistles. Dancers' perspiration will help turn heat-sensitive walls different colors. The toilets will be flushed with rainwater, and even the booze is pretty green: organic, fair-trade alcohol will be served, along with bio-beer, whose makers claim that the aloe vera in it helps increase vitamin uptake as well as reduce the harmful effects of alcohol on the liver. Also, Surva is offering free admission to clubbers who can prove they traveled there by foot, bicycle or public transportation. Of course. given the price of gas these days, it seems unlikely that many clubgoers will be arriving any other way.

# CRIME

Armoring Your Tank. The trendlest car accessory is a lockable gas cap You know gas is expensive when the Florida Lottery starts doling out prizes in the form of gas cards. But here's another sign of the times: fear of theleves siphoning fuel has led to a surge in the sale of locking gas caps. Start Manufacturing, a leading gas-cap maker, has already sold more

locking caps in the first six



months of this year—some 1.3 million—than in all of 2007. Yes, these locks can be jimmied, but New York City locksmith Frank Persico thinks they're still worth it. "You have to put time and effort into actually trying to break the thing open," he says. Which people may do if prices get high enough, —BY SARAH N. LYNCH

# **Statins "R" Us.** Pediatricians call for cholesterol-lowering drugs for some kids. Is this a quick fix for obesity's ills?

#### BY ALICE PARK

MAKING DECISIONS ABOUT YOUR HEALTH is never easy, and things get even harder when the choices involve children. That's why the latest recommendation from the American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP) to widen cholesterol-testing to include kids as young as 2 is shaking up doctors and parents alike. The Academy is also urg. ing doctors to consider treating young patients from families with a history of ahonormally high cholesterol levels—a major contributor to heart disease—with medications known as statins.

Taken together, these policies represent a desperate and perhaps even radical attempt to contain the heart disease, diabetes and other metabolic consequences of an obesity epidemic that doctors believe has spiraled out of control. "We have to start somewhere," says Dr. Jatinder Bhatia, a neonatologist at the Medical College of Georgia and member of the advisory committee that spent two years devising the guidelines. Dr. David Ludwig, a pediatrician at Children's Hospital in Boston who was not involved in making the recommendations, agrees. "We have 8-yearolds who look metabolically like an obese 60-year-old. Research predicts that this generation of children will live shorter and less healthy lives than their parents because of obesity," he says.

While the guidelines target kids with

a genetic risk of abnormally high cholesterol, called hyperlipidemia, they could lower the bar for prescriptions—not just for these children but for any overweight youngster whose cholesterol is not in check. Within hours of the Are Jannouncement on july 7, parents took to the blogs, expressing shock and unease over the aggressiveness of the guidelines. Statins are not without risks; in adults, in rare cases, they can cause muscle weakness and kidney problems, and there are limited data on how statins affect children.

Amid the uproar, the AAP is firmly defending the guidelines. "We think there will be more benefit than risk," says Dr. Nicolas Stettler, a committee member from Children's Hospital Philadelphia. Part of that risk could be a shift toward the quick-fix prescription and away from prevention programs involving diet and exercise to address obesity and surging cholesterol levels. Most pediatricians are wary of moving too quickly to medicate children, especially when the potential side effects are unknown. But it's certainly easier to scribble a prescription than it is to get young patients to eat better and exercise more. And then there's the possible cascade effect. "We can add statins to help overweight children," Stettler says. "But what about the next problem that comes up-insulin resistance and fatty liver. Are we going to keep adding drug after drug? That possibility just makes me want to cry."



FIRST PERSON WITH

Nikolaj Sazhin, math major, 19
Won world chess-boxing championship
on July 5 in Berlin

# I've Got a Mean Left Rook ...

IN THE EMERGENT SPORT OF CHESSboxing, competitors alternate between 3-min. rounds of boxing and 4-min. rounds of speed chess, with 1-min. breaks in between to take the gloves off, etc. The winner is determined by knockout, check mate or referee decision. Ada Calhoun spoke via translator with the 2008 World Champion Chessboxer, Russian math student Nikolaj Sazhin, io, who won the light-heavyweight division in Berlin on July 5 after seizing his punch-drunk opponent's queen in the fifth round of chess:

## How did you start chess-boxing?

I found chess-boxing on the Internet. I started chess when I was 6. I'm boxing now for seven years and have something like 72 amateur boxing fights, so I thought this is the perfect combination for me.

What makes a good chess boxer? You have to be totally cooled down in chess coming out of the boxing round. The adrenaline is the problem.

The World Chess Boxing Organisation describes the sports combo on its website as being "sexy." Do you agree? I totally agree. I imagine that the girls like the boys who are doing it because they know that this guy is not only fit and in a fighting mode, but he's also in a linkthing mode.

# Which is tougher: the boxing or the chess?

I didn't expect that my opponent, Frank "the Antiterror" Stoldt, would be such a good boxer. He really hit me sometimes very hard. I wasn't expecting that.



Cholesterol concerns More overweight kids could get prescriptions at clinics like this one in Boston



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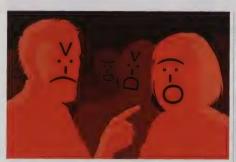
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Post Apocalypse
The Web needs commenters. But are they ruining the Net faster than they can save it?



LAST MONTH A WOMAN WHO WORKED for the Stranger, an alternative weekly in Seattle, quit in a huff. She had been writing for the paper's blog, the Slog. The problem was the comments people were making on her posts. She couldn't stand them anymore. "The word I would use is cruel," she wrote in her sign-off.

Actually, if cruel was all they were, she got off pretty easy. For all the hype about Flickrand YouTube and Twitter and whatever else is putting "Web 2.0" in its business plan these days, the most ubiquitous form of user-generated content (to employ a phrase that just won't die) is the humble comment. Web publishers have begun to offer commenting on everything-posts, videos, pictures, whatever-like it was a kind of interactive condiment. Now practically anything on the Web collects comments the way a whale collects barnacles.

In theory, it's a great thing. We're giving the people a voice! But the reality is that commenting either attracts loathsome people or somehow causes ordinary people to express themselves in a way that is loathsome.

A random example: on June 11, a user called way 21337 uploaded a video to You-

Tube. It's titled My new gerbil, and it shows. in fact, a black-and-white gerbil snuffling around cutely in somebody's hand. It is 11 seconds long. By press time, it had acquired 102 comments. Let's take a look! They begin with NewTyhuss, who writes. "sweet!" Things start going south with comment No. 4: "id hit it." (Good one. ZRace67!) After a week, we're down to eldergod0: "why dont u shove that gerbil up yur ass and quit posting stupid videos." bwalhof writes, "kill yourself, fast," And so on,

Comments aren't always that idiotic. The comments on Gawker, a Manhattanbased media and gossip blog that I will probably (no, definitely) be made to regret mentioning, can be incredibly mean, but they're also often funnier and cleverer than the posts they comment on. Last

Commenters respond with surprise when people call them on being not nice. In their social universe, this kind of rhetorical slap-fighting is iust how you do business

August Gawker ran an item about the rapper Foxy Brown, who was accused of hitting a neighbor with her Black Berry. The commenters spontaneously generated an entire mini-subculture consisting of variations on this single item: "This is like the time Spinderella stabbed me with her Treo." "MC Lite [sic] beat me about the head and upper shoulder with a stack of faxes." By October, the Foxy Brown post had 10,000 comments, at which point Gawker-presumably fearing the arrival of the Rapture-shut it down.

The horribleness of commenters isn't disinhibiting, and people are basically mean anyway. Nor is it a mystery why the people who run websites put up with commenters: the economic model for Internet content is based on advertising. which means it's based on traffic volume. and comments mean traffic. They're part of the things that make online publishing work. (TIME.com enables comments on its blogs, including mine.) It's just hard to tell whether they're ruining the Web faster than they can save it.

Commenters tend to respond with surprise-they're shocked, shocked!when people call them on being not nice. In their social universe, this kind of rhetorical slap-fighting is just how you do business, and anybody who feels otherwise is thin-skinned and humorless. As lame and self-serving as this excuse is, we can learn something from taking it at face value. Maybe commenters are just on one side of a cultural disconnect between two incompatible ideas of what the social conventions of the Internet should be. One is based on the standards of real-world, offline politeness. The other is a kind of communal game in which whoever is cleverest and pushes the most buttons wins.

This disconnect is probably just temporary. In another decade or two, one side or the other will have won out, and then we'll all be on the same page, and we won't have this kind of misunderstanding anymore. But I know which side I'm rooting for. I'm sure Foxy Brown is with me.

# **FAST FACTS:**

A GRIZZLY BEAR CAN OUTRUN A RACEHORSE.







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In re Trans Union Corp. Privacy Litigation, Case No. 00-CV-4729, MDL Docket No. 1350, U.S. Dist, Ct., N. Dist, Illinois, Eastern Division, Judge Robert W. Gettleman

# If you had a credit card, loan or credit account, you could get benefits from a class action settlement.

Para una notificación en Español, llamar o visitar nuestro website.

A settlement worth at least \$75 million has been reached with Trans Union LLC and Acxiom Corporation ("Defendants") in a class action lawsuit that claims the Defendants violated state laws and the Earl Credit Reporting Act ("FCRA") when they sold lists containing personal and financial consumer information to third parties for marketing purposes. The settlement does not near the Defendants with a proposed to the propose of the action of the proposed to the proposed of the proposed to the p

The United States District Courf for the Northern District of Illinois will have a hearing to decide whether to give final approval to the settlement, so that benefits can be issued. Those included in the class action together called a "Class." may object to the settlement orask to speak at the hearing. Eligible Class members may also sign up for credit monitoring or other benefits from the settlement. For more information, including a detailed notice, go to www.ListClassAction.com or call, tol-free, 18-664-46-3470.

## WHO'S INCLUDED?

The Court decided that the Class includes alf consumers who had no pen credit account or an open line of credit from a credit grantor (including, for instance automobile loans, bank credit cards, department store credit cards, other retail store credit cards, linance company loans, mortgage loans, and student loans liocated in the United States anytime from January 1, 1987 to May 28, 2008.

## WHAT DOES THE SETTLEMENT PROVIDE?

The settlement will: (1) establish a \$75 million Settlement Fund; (2) give Class members the opinion of selecting six or nine months of credit monitoring services; (3) donate \$150,000 to non-profit organizations; (4) pay for settlements or judgments for damage claims related to lawsuits brought individually by Class members against the Defendants; (5) pay class counsels' attorneys' fees and their expenses; (6) pay the costs of notice and administering the settlement; and (7) distribute any money remaining (after deducting the costs for everything listed above) in the Settlement Fund to Class members who register for a payment or to non-profit organizations.

The six months of credit monitoring services (which retails for \$59,75) include: (1) the ability to lock your credit reports or third parties, such as lenders or other companies, will not be able to access your credit report without your consent (unless allowed by law); (2) unlimited daily access to your Trans Union credit report and credit socces, and (3) credit monitoring with a 24-hour email credit molification service. The nine months of enhanced credit monitoring services (which retails for \$115.50) includes all the services listed above, plus a suite of insurance scores and a mortage simulation service. If you get the enhanced credit monitoring you will not be able to get a payment from the settlement or start an individual lawwiit. More details on all of

the settlement benefits are available in the Settlement Agreement which can be obtained at www.ListClassAction.com or by calling, toll-free, 1-866-416-3470.

## HOW DO YOU ASK FOR BENEFITS?

To receive credit monitoring from the settlement you must go to www.LisicflassAction.com and register by September 24, 2008. If you register, you will have six months after the Court grants final approval to the settlement and all appeals are resolved to activate your credit monitoring benefit. You may also register at the website or by mail until September 24, 2008. It or receive a possible eash payment.

## YOUR OTHER RIGHTS.

Whether or not you seek any benefits being offered as part of this settlement, all Class members will gub be able to participate in a class action or join multiple plaintiffs in a single action. You may object to the settlement by August 22, 2008. The detailed notice explains how to object. Your options for benefits provided by the settlement are as follow:

- File an individual lawsuit against Defendant(s) for claims related to target marketing and prescreening: You can also sign up for six months of credit monitoring.
- Sign up for six months of credit monitoring services: You can also register to receive a possible cash payment in the event of a cash distribution or file an individual lawsuit against the Defendants.
- Sign up for nine months of enhanced credit monitoring services: You will not receive any further benefits, including a cash payment, and you will not be able to file an individual lawsuit against the Defendants.
- Register to receive a possible cash payment: You can also sign up for six months of credit monitoring; however if you receive a cash payment, you cannot file an individual lawsuit against the Defendants.
- <u>Do Nothing</u>: You won't get any benefits. You will keep your right to sue the Defendants individually (see the detailed notice and Settlement Agreement for more information).

The Court will hold a hearing in this case on September 10, 2008, at Courtroom 1703, Everett McKinley Dirksen Building, 219 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, II. 60604, to consider whether to approve the settlement, and set a date to consider whether to approve the settlement and set a date to consider or request by Class Counsel for attorneys' fees of up to 25% of the Settlement Fund, and reimbursement of costs and expenses. Class Counsel will also request a payment of up to \$3.750 for each of the Class Representatives who helped the lawyers on behalf of the whole Class. Class members may ask to appear and speak at the hearing at their own cost, but they don't have to. For more information, call, toll-free, 1.866-416-3470 org to the website shown below.

Kill's strength comes from focusing not on why we fight or how but on who fights for us

# Arts



MOVIES DITELEVISION DOWNTIME

# ft's in his makeup Ledger,

in his last finished vole, as the Joker

# MOVIES

Back in Black. The new Batman epic is a violent, masterly weave of madness and dread

## BY RICHARD CORLISS

THERE'S A BEAUTIFUE HIGH-NOGLE SHOT, array in The Dark Knight, that looks down on Bruce Wayne (Christian Bale) in full Batman regalia as he perches atop a Goth-marksyscraper, surveying the city he lives to protect, then leaping off and spreading his majestic bat wings to swoop down into the night. Bruces trajectory is also the film's. It traces a descent into moral anarchy, and each of its major characters will hit bottom. Some will never recover, will hit bottom. Some will never recover, booken by the touch of evil or by finding





Death race 2008 When his Batmobile is wrecked, Batman (Bale) emerges from the car in his tricked-out motorcycle—the "Bat pod"

it, like a fatal infection, in themselves. The Dark Knight, Christopher Nolan's second chapter in his revival of the DC Comics franchise, will hit theaters with all the hoopla and fanboy avidity of the summer season's earlier movies based on comic books. It's the fifth, and three of the first four (Iron Man, Wanted and Hellboy II) have been terrific or just short of it. (The Incredible Hulk: not so hot.) It's been one of the best summers in memory for flat-out blockbuster entertainment, and in the wow category, the Nolan film doesn't disappoint. True to format, it has a crusading hero, a sneering villain in Heath Ledger's loker, spectacular chases-including one with Batman on a stripped-down Batmobile that becomes a motorcycle with monster-truck wheels-and lots of stuff blowing up. Even the tie-in action figures with Reese's Pieces suggest this is a fast-food movie.

But Nolan has a more subversive agenda. He wants viewers to stick their hands down the rat hole of evil and see if they get bitten. With little humor to break the tension. The Dark Knight is beyond dark. It's as black and teening and toxic—as the mind of the joker. Batman Begins, the 2005 film that launched Nolam's series, was a mere fivefinger exercise. This is the full symphony.

## A Better Class of Criminal

GOTHAM HAS A NEW WHITE KNIGHT: A fearless district attorney, Harvey Dent (Aaron Eckhart), who's determined to

# With little humor to break the tension, The Dark Knight is beyond dark. It's as black—and teeming and toxic—as the mind of the Joker

nab malefactors through the law with the same gusto that Batman, the dark knight, applies using his gadgets and charisma. The Mob (led by Eric Roberts) they can handle, with the help of stalwart police lieutenant James Gordon (Gary Oldman). But the Joker—this guy is nuts. He does deals with the Mob, then crosses them up. He makes a point with his pencil by tarming it into a gangster's head. "This town," he says, "deserves a better class of criminals." So do action movies, and here he is, wowing to bring down Batman and Dent, just for the mad fun of it.

In its rethinking and transcending of a schlock source, The Dark Kinjdish up there with David Cronenberg's 1986 version of The Pi<sub>l</sub>. It turns pulp into dark poetry, lust as that movie found metaphors of cancer, also and death in the story of a man devolving into an insect, so this one plumbs the nature of identity. Who are we'! Has Bruce lost himself in the myth of the hero?

En his Batman persona a mission or an af-

fliction? Can crusading Dent live down the nickname (Two-Face) some rancorous cops have pinned on him? Only the Joker seems unconflicted. He knows what he is; an "agent of chaos." Your worst nightmare.

No. really. This villain, as conceived by Nolan and his scriptwriter bother fonathan and incarnated with chilling authority by Ledger, is not the legant sadist of so many action films, nor the strutting showman played by lack Nicholson in Tim Burton's 1989 Balman. He isn't a father figure or a macho man. And though he invents several stories about how he got his (facial and psychic) sears, he's not presented as the sum of injustices done to him. This loker is simply one of the most twisted and mesmerzing creeps in movie history.

And the actor, who died in January at 80 of an accidental prescription drug overdose, is magnificent. Echoing the sly psychopathy and scary singsong voice of Anthony Hopkins in The Silence of the Lambs (Hannibal Ledger), Ledger carries in him the deranged threat of a punk star like Sid Vicious, whom he supposedly took as one of the models for his character. The Joker observes no rules, pursues no grand scheme, he's the terroirst as improv art ist. Evil is his tenor sax, Armageddon his melody. Why, he might blow up a hospital or turn ordinary people into mass murderers to save their own lives.

The Joker may be insane, but he's a shrewd judge of character. He knows that Batman has two vulnerable spots: his girlfriend Rachel Dawes (Maggie Cyllenhaal, assuming the role Katie Holmes had in the first film) and his hidden identity. So the loker starts preying on Rachel, and he says he'll stop terrorizing Gotham if Bat ama will come out from under the mask. A modest request from the bin Laden of movie villains, yet Bruce is refuctant. Or rather, the film is, since the informing principle of any franchies is perpetuation of the series. No secret, no Batman—just a moneybags with a Messiah complex.

The other would-be hero on a downward spiral is the district attorney. He's brave and ballsy enough to fight the Mob and the loker, but when a tragedy makes his guilt roll, Dent gets bent. Old Two-Face has a mission of his own, and like the Jok er, he can be a one-man plague—but with some of the poignance of classic tragedy.

## Free Fall to Destiny

THE MAYHEM AND TORTURE WREAKED here, by saint or scum, are so vivid and persistent that it's a wonder, and a puzzle, why The Dark Knight snagged a PG-13 rating. (Don't take your 9-year-old son unless you think he'd enjoy seeing a kid just like him tremble in fear while a gun is held to his head by a previously sympathetic character.) But kids would have trouble following the movie, let alone understanding it. For teens and adults, it's a strap-yourselves-in trip, handsome and assured as only a bigbudget picture can be. (Part of it was shot in the IMAX process, which lends the action scenes a startling clarity and depth.) And for reassurance, Nolan brings back old friends from Batman Begins: Michael Caine as Bruce's butler Alfred and

Morgan Freeman as Fox, who takes care of Bruce's toys. Actually, they're just diversions from the epochal face-off of Bruce and the Joker. For a good part of the film, when the two embrace in a free fall of souls-one doomed, the other imperiled-you may think you're in the grip of a mordant masterpiece. That feeling will pass, as the film spends too many of its final moments setting up the series' third installment. The chill will linger, though.

Movies

# **And Then There's Hellboy**

The man who dreamed up *Pan's Labyrinth* finds humor and a little heart in comic-book mutants

FOR ALL HIS ANGST, BATMAN IS YOUR standard-issue hero-a zillionaire dogooder using his resources to save the world, like Bill Gates with muscles and a cape. But the realm of action fantasy allows for other protectors of humanity, including some you might not want for neighbors. Hellboy, for example. A demon summoned to Earth by Nazi scientists in 1944, he has grown into a strapping crime fighter, red of skin and with his horns sheared off because. well, they got in the way. As a member of the U.S. government's Bureau for Paranormal Research and Defense. Hellboy is sworn to eradicate creatures odder and way nastier than he is.

Helliby It: The Golden Army, a sequel to the 2004 film version of Mike Mignolas Dark Horse Comics Franchise, pits Helliboy (Ron Perlman) and his colleagues, Aquaman Abe Sapien (Doug Jones) and the literally incendiary Liz Sherman (Selman Blair), against netherworld twins determined to take over the arch. If the film is just as strange and endearing as its glowing protagonist—and it is—that's because the director and co-writer (with Mignola) is Guillermo de Iron. 43, who has the wildest imagi-

nation and grandest ambitions of any body in modern movies.

Del Toro has a peripatetic résume. He began in his native Mexico with the suave hortor movie Croms, made his U.S. debut with the scary Mimic, went to Spain to direct two acclaimed ghost stories about lost children. The Devil's Backbone and Bars Lapprinth, and proved his Holly wood bona fides with the genre films Blade! Hand the first Hellboy.

Other directors of big budget action films built their early reps with smaller works abroad—Roland Emmerich (Independence Day) in Germany. Louis Leterrier (The Incredite Hulk) in France—but no foreigner has graduated to the big time with such a quirky cinematic personality as Del Toro's. He has seamlessly blended art house and grind house, and kept his soul in the process.

All his films, whether based on U.S. comic books or his own verdant visions, are uniquely and vibrantly Del Toro. From Cronos through Hellboy II. there's a consistency of visual tropes the insects, crucifixes, subways and bizarre clock work devices, not to mention his thereal or infernal or disgusting creatures—the good, the bad and the ugby.

Mignola's notion of preternaturally gifted freaks assembled to fight a malevolent underworld of monsters plays to many of Del Toro's strengths, "Tooth fairy" insects swarm over the good guys, and a stroll through a Troll Market is populated with more intergalactic oddities than the Star Wars cantina scene. (One small, cute creature attached to an ogre's chest snaps, "I'm not a baby. I'm a tumor.") The movie's tone is often facetious, which keeps it from reaching the melancholy heights of Pan's Labyrinth. But its humor mixes with pathos, as when Hellboy and Abe, mooning over lost loves, duet on the '70s kitsch classic Can't Smile Without You.

At the end we're left with the promise not not you falleling III, to tal Fellboy Ir, possibly a Hellboy Ir, Miss. That project may have to wait, however, Peter Jackson, the New Zealand horror maven who conquered Hollywood with The Lord of the Rings, has tapped Del Toro to direct a two-film version of J.R.R. Tolkien's The Hobbit. The fit seems ideal for an artist who's ever ready to create, or inhabit, a new fantasy andscape.—R.



comic-book movie.

The Dark Knight is

bound to haunt you long after you've told

vourself. Aah, it's only a

# Theater of the Absurd. HBO's

Generation Kill captures the Iraq invasion as searing drama and surreal comedy

#### BY JAMES PONIEWOZIK

IT IS 2003, AND AS THE MARINE IST RECONnaissance Battalion waits in Kuwait for the order to invade Iraq, there's a troubling rumor. It's not about the mission or who or the equipment they have not received. It's about Jennifer Lopez. J. Lo's dead, the buze says, and the government is hiding the truth to prop up morale.

This mix of dread and absurdity is standard operating procedure in HBO'S Generation Kill (Sundays, 9 m. ET), which combines bone-rattling action, lacerating drama and comedy as dark and dirty as a nighttime sandstorm. Produced and co-written by David Simon and Ed Burns, who took a similar approach to America's urban lish in the brilliant two cop drama. The Wire, Kill'is no fictional critique. It's based on the book by embedded journalist Evan Wright, and the adaptation is faithful to his book down to the precise dialogue.

Kill's strength comes from focusing not on why we fight or how, but on who fights for us: volunteers, many from broken homes and troubled 'hoods, who take being lied to as a given and were raised amid low expectations. "Not a whole lot was expected of this generation," Wright says in his book, "other than the hope that those in twould squeak through high school without pulling too many more mass shootings in the manner of Columbine." Suddenly they're heavily armed, charged with excuting U.S. foreign policy and expected to kick as but storys hort of atroctive.

They come from all races, religions and regions. Some syme don't. What they have in common besides their mission is that they are bred in the bone products of American pop culture. They quote South Park while rolling through the blasted countryside. They sing along to Avril Lavigne, compare combat to Grand Theft Audo and recite NWA. Tyrics for inspiration. One of them—in a twist on a famous theory of New York Times

Kill's Marines sing Avril Lavigne, compare combat to Grand Theft Auto and recite N.W.A. lyrics for inspiration columnist Thomas Friedman's—suggests American consumerism will pacify Iraq. "How else we going to make these hungry motherf\_\_rs want to stop killing every-body? Put a McDonald's on every f\_\_ing corner. If we got ta blow up the corner, then put in the McDonald's, so be it."

This is a different kind of cultural language from Vietnam movies, where the Doors or Jimi Hendris would sonically represent the dark terror of war. Here. it's all ironic contrast. After the accidental shooting of a civilian, Corporal Josh Ray Person (James Ransone) cracks, "It's all that damn gangsta rap and those video games that are desensitizine toology's out hto violence."

Yet there's nothing ironic about the horrors we witness: a girl by the roadside with her legs blown off, civilian buildings bombed in error, a disembodied arm reaching from the sand like a scene from Carrie, Because Kill covers the war's early days, when the U.S. steamrolled Saddam's military, few of the casualties are American. But knowing what waits for these troops after this story ends (the resistance, the IEDS), makes us fear for them. We get a few chilling glimpses, as when the unit finds a dead fighter carrying papers from Syria. Some of the men rejoice at killing a "terrorist," but Lieutenant Nate Fick (Stark Sands) asks, "Isn't that the exact opposite of what we wanted to have happen here? Two weeks ago, he was still a student in Syria."

First Recon has its share of accidental shootings and logo few srerewups, but the matter of fact Kill neither assails nor excuse sethem. Some are racist toward fragis—or "haijis"—while others are respectful even of their enemies. When a Marine urinates in a bag of rice at a destroyed guerrilla camp, another scolds him: "The men have been living here on rice and beans, sleeping out here in the cold on these rags. These are some \_\_\_in pard men, You ladies bitch if you get an MRE [Meal Ready to Eat] without af \_\_ing Pon\_Fart."

Ultimately, though, the Marines of 1st Recon—despite changing, often contradictory orders—exceed society's expectations of them. The standout of Kill's ensemble is Alexander Skarsgard, as Sergeant Brad (Iceman) Colbert. He's fatherly to his men yet skeptical of his superiors. Ne's decent yet cynical; he's methodical in battle, yet hetakes sach civilian castally to heart.

Colbert is the series 'rock and a straight man contrast to the constantly yammering Person, his driver. As the stoicenigma and the hopped-up smart ass speed through the desert landscape, you could almost take Kilfora sur



Young men o' war Jon Huertas, Skarsgard and Lee Tergensen, from left, re-create the invasion

# **Downtime**



# 5 Things You Need to Know About. An ingenious heist, a nifty 3-D movie and Mellencamp's best in years



#### MOVIES

Journey to the Center of the Earth 3D Directed by Eric Brevig; rated PG; out now

To put on 3-D glasses, as cumbersome a visual aid now as they were in the '50s, is already to surrender to cheesiness. This loose take on Jules Verne's novel, with Brendan Fraser as the wayward scientist, is the ideal vehicle for stuff jumping out at you; yo, yo, waterspouts, antennae, dinosaur drool, the works. It's fun for tweens, a sedative for their parents. B-



#### MUSIC

John Mellencamp Life, Death, Love and Freedom; out July 15

Whereas once his indignation was trained on factory bosses, now it's Mellencamp's own broken-down self that's got him pissed. Producer T Bone Burnett creates delicate acoustics and puts the singer's disappointment ("Well I used to have some values") center stage. It will not brighten your day, but it's his best in a decade. A-



# The Hold Steady Stay Positive; out July 15

These rock jams about aging hipsters from a band of aging hipsters are cut-rate Springsteen, right down to Craig Finn's croaky vocals and keyboard-riff rapture. But suckers for the veneration of things white people like (water towers, daddy issues, Joe Strummer) and fear (aging, townies, not being cool) will undoubtedly be charmed. **B** 



#### DVDS

The Bank Job Directed by Roger Donaldson; rated R; out July 15

Based on the 1971 robbery of a London bank, this savory heist film adds spicy photos of aristocrats to the haul, Jason Statham, ever the East End Bruce Willis, leads the amateur cracksmen as they get tangled in about 56 subplots involving MI5, good and bad cops, porn dealers, black radicals and jealous wives. A burly, burrowing pleasure. B+



#### BOOKS

The Black Hole War By Leonard Susskind; out now

This is the story of a 25-year argument between physicists Susskind and Stephen Hawking over what happens to stuff that falls into a black hole. Hawking says it disappears; Susskind disagrees. You could dismiss it all as nerd-on-nerd violence, but then you'd miss out on Susskind explaining why the universe is actually a hologram. 8+



# 60-SECOND SYNOPSIS

# How to Stop Innovation

WHEN NO ONE OWNS a resource, we tend to overuse it-winding up with polluted skies. fished-out oceans and hattles over access to freshwater. But too much ownership leads to problems too. A pharmaceutical company is stymied by a web of patents and doesn't make a drug. An airport can't buy land for a new runway to ease congestion because dozens of people own slivers of property. A production house, faced with a mishmash of musiclicensing rights, keeps an old sitcom from DVD. In THE GRIDLOCK

ECONOMY (Basic Books; 259 pages), Columbia Law School's Michael Heller documents such "wasteful underuse" and the straitjacket it puts on innovation. His examples resemble pastures in which each square inch is owned by a different rancher: useless. The solution, free-

marketeers will be glad to know, isn't less ownership but better ways to aggregate it. Consider the patent pool created in 1917 that let airplanemakers swap technology and share profits without threat of litigation. For property use, Heller imagines something like a co-op board for landowners. Suddenly, there's someone in charge to talk to-and maybe that airport gets its runway. -BY BARBARA KIVIAT

# Michael Kinsley

# Divided They Fall. If Hillary's supporters refuse to vote for Obama, her agenda will fade. And a united GOP just might win

CONSIDER THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. MANY REPUBLICANS dislike John McCain with a passion that has lasted for years. Asked to explain, they refer to the McCain-Feingold campaign-finance-reform law (which they thought, incorrectly as it turns out, would bite Republicans more than Democrats), or his opposition (since rescinded) to the Bush tax cuts, or what they regard as his tiresome and preening routine as a mayerick. They resent his mutual love affair with the press (which he jokingly refers to as "my base"). They remember a lot of foolish talk a while back about how McCain might switch parties and become a Democrat. And vet almost all of these McCain haters will vote for him in November.

Now consider the Democratic Party. The one-on-one rivalry between Senators Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama lasted only about three months from beginning to end. Their policy disagreements are negligible. For many Clinton supporters, the chance to elect an African-American President represents the culmination of a cause they have been fighting for all their lives. Yet almost half of Clinton supporters tell pollsters that they will not vote for Obama, And Clinton's big-money backers are deflecting money and energy away from their party's presumptive nominee.

What is their problem? News reports suggest that disgruntled Clinton supporters are angry about alleged sexism in the coverage of her campaign, while other Democrats are upset at Obama's recent moves toward the center. The second complaint is childish. Securing your base and then moving to the center is the fundamental move of politics, like the basic steps of the fox-trot. And Obama is hardly responsible for Clinton's press coverage. But there is no easy way these folks can vent their anger at Chris Matthews. So they are taking their revenge on people without health care, women who need abortions, and others who they (if they supported Hillary) must think will be harmed by a Republican victory in the fall. That'll show 'em.

If you listen to a lot of right-wing talk radio (as I do), you can hear the troops being rallied. O.K., so maybe McCain isn't really our type. But he's our nominee. And consider the alternative! Obama is the most radical left-winger since the French Revolution. He is a fanatical leveler who hates rich people and despises success. Plus, he's an élitist snob. And his wife thinks she's better than everyone else because she's black. Truth to tell, the radio guys would rather have had Clinton to rail against, out of habit if nothing more. They spent most of their energy during primary season going after her. (Hillary nostalgia is surely one reason they are so obsessed with Michelle Obama.) But they have turned their guns on Barack Obama with remarkable ease and speed.

Democrats aren't like that. It's not that they're too nice or too principled, or too unwilling to be ruthless. The hatred of George W. Bush on the left-and the eagerness to see him gone—is at this point as extreme as

anything the right has to offer. (I know this because I share it.) The desire to win for winning's sake is pretty deep, too. Furthermore, as I suggested in this space a few weeks ago, it is at least an open question as to whether Democrats this year will attempt to match the Republicans in their willing ness to "swift-boat"-that is, to play dirty in what they regard as a noble cause.

But true, professional unscrupulousness-the kind of do-anything-to-win pragmatism that Democrats envy in Republicans-requires more

than just working yourself up into a lather of dislike. Sometimes, in fact, it requires the opposite: putting aside your dislike, your disappointments, your anger, your feelings of betraval. In the case of Hillary Clinton's erstwhile supporters, all of these feelings seem overwrought to me. But there is no point in arguing about this, or at least not now. Now is the time to just get over it.

Barack Obama has refused \$84 million of government money for the fall campaign because he believes he can raise more privately. For the Democrats to find it easier than the Republicans to raise money is a recent development, and a somewhat inspiring one. Affluent people who give to the Republican Party are advancing their own class interests, whereas those who give to the Democrats generally aren't. This suggests an admirable seriousness about their giving. On the other hand, if they go off in a snit when their candidate loses the nomination, that will suggest that they aren't really in this out of progressive passion-they just find politics an amusing hobby, like racehorses or yachts.







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# Sixteen?

THAT'S ONLY ONE IN DRIVING YEARS.



They may be old enough to get their driver's license, but they're still the youngest drivers on the road. There's a big difference between learning how to drive in the classroom and driving in the real world. It's called experience.

16-year-old drivers have crash rates three times higher than 17-year-olds and five times higher than 18-year-olds. How can we help our teens safely get the experience they need? Allstate has some ideas:

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To learn about your state's GDL laws, visit Allstate.com/teen. If they aren't strong enough, ask your legislator to strengthen them.

# AND IF YOU'RE A PARENT, HAVE THE DRIVING TALK.

75% of teens surveyed said their parents would be the best influence in getting them to drive more safely. The Allstate Parent-Teen Driving Contract can help start the conversation. Contact an Allstate Agent to get a copy or visit Allstate.com/teen for the interactive contract.

Let's use our experience to help teen drivers build theirs.

It's time to make the world a safer place to drive.
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